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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N,
U N D E R T H E
H O U S E o f S T U A R T.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

UNDER THE
HOUSE of STUART.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

The Reigns of JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

The SECOND EDITION Corrected.

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MDCCLIX.

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O F

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J A M E S I.

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*Introduction.—James's first transactions.—State of Europe.—
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ference.—A parliament.—Peace with Spain.*

THE crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity, than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the eyes of men had been employed in search of her successor; and when old age made the prospect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but the King of Scots, who could advance any just claim or pretension to the throne. He was the great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. and, upon the failure of all the male line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. In the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and the other perbuddies contracted against her, determined any considerable obstacle to her succession; there being no living, and no party, that had no place with regard to her claim. Mary's confusion, tho' the title, derived from blood, had been frequently violated since the

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Chap. I. Norman conquest, such licences had proceeded more from force or intrigue, than
1603. from any deliberate maxims of government. The lineal heir had still in the end prevailed; and both his exclusion and restoration had been commonly attended with such convulsions, as were sufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to such irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII. authorised by act of parliament, had tacitely excluded the Scottish line; the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had rendered his memory so odious, that a settlement of this nature, unsupported by any just reason, had no authority with the people. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had recognized the undoubted title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Tho' born and educated amidst a foreign and hostile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wisdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an English monarch; and the prudent foresaw greater advantages, resulting from an union with Scotland, than disadvantages from submitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity, with which the English looked towards the successor, had appeared so evident to Elizabeth, that, concurring with other causes, it affected her with the deepest melancholy; and that wise Princess, whose penetration and experience had given her the greatest insight into human affairs, had not yet sufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers, and levity of the people.

As victory abroad, and tranquillity at home, had ever attended this Queen, she left the nation in such flourishing circumstances, that her successor possessed every advantage, except that of comparison with her illustrious name, when he mounted the throne of England. The King's journey from Edinburgh to London immediately afforded to the inquisitive some circumstances of comparison, which even the natural partiality in favour of their new sovereign, could not interpret to his advantage. As he passed along, all ranks of men flocked about him, from every quarter; allured by interest or curiosity. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations which resounded from all sides; and every one could remember how the affability and popularity of their Queen displayed themselves, amidst such concourse and exultation of her subjects. But James, tho' sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixt multitude; and tho' far from disliking flattery, yet was he still tender of tranquillity and ease. He therefore issued a proclamation, forbidding this great resort of people, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies, which would necessarily attend it.

He was not, however, insensible to the great overflow of affection, which appeared in his new subjects; and being himself of an affectionate temper, he seems to

to be, and in fact to mark the beginning of his reign. To the native population, we are told, the first appearance of gold, which was obtained in the beginning of his reign, was in a gold mine, which had been discovered by the king, and he is computed to have bestowed his gold on no less than six persons. If Queen Elizabeth's frugality of honours, as well as of money, had been formerly ripened at, it began now to be violent and extreme. And every one was sensible, that the King, by his lavish and profuse bestowing of honours, had failed of obliging the persons, on whom he bestowed them. Titles of nobility became so common, that they were no longer marks of distinction, and being distributed, without choice or deliberation, to persons, unknown to the prince, were regarded more as the proofs of facility and good-nature, than of any determined friendship or esteem.

A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was pretended to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories, in retaining the names of the new Nobility.

We may presume, that the English would have thrown less blame on the King's bestowing favours, had these been confined entirely to the Scotch nobles, and had not been shared out, in too unequal proportion, to his old friends. James, who, thro' his whole reign, was more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had brought with him great numbers of his Scotch courtiers; whose impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impose on the easy nature of their master, and extort favours, of which it is natural to imagine, his English subjects would very loudly complain. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume, Lord Kinloss, Sir George Hume, Secretary Elphinstone, were immediately admitted to the English privy council. Sir George Hume, whom he created Earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that Nobleman lived; and was the wisest and most virtuous, and the best powerful, of all those whom the King ever favoured with court distinctions. Hay, some time after, was created Viscount of Eglinton, and became Earl of Argyll, and got an immense fortune from the crown, all which he spent in a splendid and courtly manner. Ramsey obtained the title of Earl of Holderness; and many others, being raised, on a sudden, to the highest civil offices, increased, by their multitude, that envy, which naturally attended them, as enemies and

competitors. It must, however, be owned, that, in the year 1625, the Lord of Scotland, the other officers in the hands of the nobles, and that the conduct of the royal concerns, both foreign and domestic, to the English subjects. Among these, Secretary Cecil, created first Viscount of Exeter, Viscount Cranborne,

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and Earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Tho' the capacity and penetration of this minister were sufficiently known, his favour with the King created great surprize on the accession of that monarch. Cecil was son of the famous Burleigh, whose merits towards his sovereign and his country were great, but whose name was naturally odious to James; as the declared enemy of his mother, and the chief cause of her tragical death, by some esteemed the great stain in the bright annals of Elizabeth. He himself, as well as his father, had stood at the head of the court-faction, which opposed the greatness of the Earl of Essex, and which, assisted by the imprudence or rather frenzy of that favourite, at last brought him to the scaffold. The people, by whom the Earl was infinitely beloved, resented the conduct of his enemies; but James still more, who had maintained a secret correspondence with Essex, and regarded him as a zealous partizan for the succession in the house of Stuart. Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, Cecil's associates, felt immediately the effects of these prejudices of their master, and were dismissed from their employments: But Cecil, who possessed all the art and cunning of a courtier, as well as many of the talents of a great statesman, had found the means of making his peace with James; and, unknown both to Elizabeth and all the other ministers, had entered into a secret commerce with the successor, during the latter years of the Queen's administration.

THE capacity of James and his ministers in negotiation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate the King on his accession to the throne, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beside ministers from Venice, Denmark, the Palatinate; Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt the Pensionary of Holland, represented the states of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by Archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who excited most the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the Marquess of Rosni, afterwards Duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

WHEN the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on Philip II. all Europe was struck with terror; lest the power of a family, which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event to be more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprize, false without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgment; such was the character of Philip, and such the character, which, during his life-time and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated
provinces.

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1603.

Queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the Princes, they agreed to assist each other; Henry with a force of ten thousand, James with that of six thousand men. This treaty, one of the wisest and most equitable concluded by James, during the whole course of his reign, was more the work of the Prince himself, than any of his ministers.

Raleigh's con-
spiracy.

AMIDST the great tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, with which the nation was blest, nothing could be more surprising than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the King, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy; and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two catholic priests, were accused of the plot: Lord Grey, a puritan: Lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle: And Sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of *free-thinkers*. Together with these, Mr. Broke, brother to Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copley, Sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what end they proposed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the Queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the King, till conditions should be made with him; they were, upon that, as well as other accounts, extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of Secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession, as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond all doubt. And tho' no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprize, it appeared, that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aramburg, the French ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

The two priests* and Broke† were executed: Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned‡, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was relieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

It appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and we may thence presume, that, meeting with a refusal from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes,

Ed

* November 29. † December 5. ‡ December 9.

to the Flemish minister. Such a confession we never could have seen, but it must be confessed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of his guilt, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. He was accused by Colman alone, in a sudden fit of passion upon hearing, that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Colman's guilt might be shown and ascertained. This accusation Colman afterwards retracted, and, in a more retracted his retraction. Yet, upon the written evidence of this accusation, a man of no honour nor understanding, and so contrary in his behaviour; not confronted with Raleigh; not supported by any concerning circumstance; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of the King, the favourer of the people.

Now Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney general, serving the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in those days, on the manners of that age. Tyrant, monster, viper, and spider of human society, which he employs a swift one of the most illustrious men of the Kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with surpassing temper, eloquence, and courage.

The next session of the King was entirely according to his heart's content. He was now employed in dictating magnificently to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and in receiving the applause of their inferiority to his superior zeal and knowledge. The religious dispute between the church and the papists had induced him to call a conference at Hampton Court, under pretence of settling expedients, which might reconcile both parties.

Two of the severities of his temper towards the Catholics had much weakened that party, who of course were contrary to the prevailing spirit of the nation. The severities of his temper towards the papists, who were encouraged by that spirit, did not hurt them. Even learned and holy divines of that party, upon a pretence to the king on his accession; and many more desired to have to do with him, and hoped that James, having received his education abroad, would be more favourable to the church of Rome. But the king's temper did not allow him to be so easily deceived. He had remembered, in this respect, his father in a violent

turn

CHAP. I. turn towards republicanism, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious enthusiasm, with which they were actuated. He had found, that being mostly persons of low birth and mean education, the same lofty pretensions, which attended them in their familiar addresses to their Maker, of whom they believed themselves the peculiar favourites, induced them to use the utmost freedoms with their earthly sovereign. In both capacities, of monarch and of theologian, he had experienced the little complaisance, which they were disposed to show him; whilst they controuled his commands, disputed his tenets, and to his face, before the whole people, censured his conduct and behaviour. If he had submitted to the indignity of courting their favour, he treasured up the stronger resentment against them, and was determined to make them feel, in their turn, the weight of his authority. Tho' he had often met with resistance and faction and obstinacy in the Scotch nobility, he retained no ill-will to that order; or rather showed them favour and kindness in England, beyond what reason and sound policy could well justify: But the ascendant, which the presbyterian clergy had assumed over him, was what his monarchical pride could never thoroughly digest.

He dreaded likewise the popularity, which attended this order of men in both kingdoms. As useless auterities and self-denial are imagined, in many religions, to render us acceptable to a benevolent Being, who created us solely for happiness, James remarked, that the rustic severity of these clergymen and of their whole sect had given them, in the eyes of the multitude, the appearance of sanctity and virtue. Strongly inclined himself to mirth and wine and sports of all kinds, he apprehended their censure for his manner of life, free and disengaged. And, being thus averse, from temper as well as policy, to the sect of puritans, he was resolved, if possible, to prevent its further growth in England.

But it was the character of James's councils, throughout his whole reign, that they were more wise and equitable, in their end, than prudent and political, in the means. Tho' justly sensible, that no part of civil administration required greater care or a nicer judgment than the conduct of religious parties, whose various genius, affections and antipathies, have so mighty an influence on public affairs; he had not perceived, that in the same proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requisite, the speculative refinements in it are mean, and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealously into frivolous disputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity, which they could not otherwise have acquired; and being himself enlisted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourse to contempt and ridicule, the only proper method of appraising it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predestination:

The puritans had not yet totally separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Thus the spirit of the parties was considerably different, the only apparent subjects of dispute were concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and the bowing at the name of Jesus. These were the mighty questions, which were solemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court between some bishops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and some leaders of the puritan party on the other; the king and his ministers being present.

The puritans were here so unreasonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; as if the search after truth were in any degree the object of such conferences, and a candid indifference, so rare even among private inquirers, in *philosophical* questions, could ever be expected among princes and prelates, in a *theological* controversy. The King, it must be confessed, from the beginning of the Conference, shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which, tho' it has some foundation, is to be received with great limitations, No Bishop, No King. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal dissent; and the Archbishop of Canterbury said, that *undoubtedly his Majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit*. A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

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1664.

account of the plague, which had broke out in London, and raged to such a degree, that 30,000 persons are computed to have died of it in a year; tho' the City contained at that time only about 150,000 inhabitants.

THE speech, which the King made on opening the parliament, displays fully his character, and proves him to have possessed more knowledge and greater parts than prudence or any just sense of decorum and propriety. Tho' few writings of that age surpass this speech either in style or matter; it wants that majestic brevity and reserve, which becomes a king in his addresses to the great council of the nation. It contains, however, a very remarkable stroke of candor, where he confesses his too great facility in yielding to the solicitations of suitors: A fault, which he promises to correct, but which adhered to him, and distressed him, during the whole course of his reign.

THE first business, in which the commons were engaged, was of the utmost importance to the preservation of their privileges; and neither temper nor resolution were wanting in their conduct of it.

In former periods of the English government, the house of commons were of so small weight in the balance of the constitution, that little attention had been given, either by the crown, the people, or the house itself, to the choice and continuance of the members. It had been usual, after parliaments were prolonged beyond one session, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority, of issuing new writs to supply the place of any members, whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their sickness, or other impediment. This practice gave that minister, and consequently the prince, an unlimited power of garbling at pleasure the representatives of the nation; yet so little jealousy had it created, that the commons, of themselves, without any court-influence or intrigue, and contrary to some former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty third of Elizabeth*. At that time, tho' some members, whose place had been supplied on account of sickness, having now recovered their health, appeared in the house, and claimed their seat; such was the authority of the chancellor, that merely out of respect to him, his sentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places. Here a most dangerous prerogative was conferred on the crown: But to show the genius of that age, or rather the channel in which power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; inasmuch, that two days afterwards, the chancellor, of himself, resigned it back to the commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their house. And when the question, concerning the chancellor's new writs, was again brought on the carpet towards the end of the session, the commons were so little terrified at the

* Journ. January 19, 1580.

the precedent, that, tho' they re-admitted some old members, whose seats had been vacated, on account of slight indispositions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's sentence, in instances where the distemper appeared dangerous and incurable*. Nor did they proceed any farther, in vindication of their privilege, than to vote, *that during the sitting of parliament, there do not, at any time, any writ go out for the choosing or returning any member, without the warrant of the house*. In Elizabeth's reign, we may remark, and the reigns preceding, sessions of parliament usually continued not above the twelfth part so long as the vacations: and during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleased to exert it, was still left, by this vote, as unlimited and unrestrained as ever.

Chap. 1.
1905.

In a subsequent parliament, the absolute authority of the Queen was exerted in a manner still more open; and began for the first time to give alarm to the commons. New writs having been issued by the chancellor, when there was no vacancy, and a controversy arising upon that incident; the Queen sent a message to the house, informing them, that it was impertinent for them to deal in such matters. These questions, she said, belonged only to the chancellor; and she had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to settle all disputes with regard to elections. The commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote, “ That it was a most perilous precedent, where two knights of a county
“ were duly elected, if any new writ should issue out for a second election, with-
“ out order of the house itself; that the discussing and adjudging of this and
“ such like differences belonged only to the house; and that there should be no
“ message sent to the Lord chancellor, not so much as to enquire what he had
“ done in the matter, because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the
“ power and privilege of the house &c.” This is the most considerable, and al-
most only instance of parliamentary liberty, which occurs, during the reign of
that Princess.

OUTLAWS, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges, incapable of a seat in the house, where they must themselves be law-givers: But this opinion of the judges had been frequently over-ruled. I find, however, in the case of Vaughan, who was questioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted for forestship, and to have been, most of them, honestly compounded, he was allowed, on account of these favourable circumstances, still to keep his seat: Which plainly supposes, that, otherwise, it would have been vacated, on account of the outlawry. §

When

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1604.

WHEN James summoned this parliament, he issued a proclamation * ; where among many general advices, which, like a kind tutor, he bestowed on his people, he strictly charges them not to chuse any outlaw for their representative. And he adds ; *If any person take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgesse, not being duly elected, according to the lawes and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending, to be fined or imprisoned for the same.* A proclamation here was plainly put on the same footing with a law, and that in so delicate a point as the right of elections : Most alarming circumstances, had there not been reason to believe, that this measure, being entered into so early in the King's reign, proceeded more from precipitation and mistake, than from any serious design of invading the privileges of his parliament †.

SIR Francis Goodwin was chosen member for the county of Bucks; and his return, as usual, was made into chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued writs for a new election. Sir John Fortescue was chosen in his place by the county: But the first act of the house was to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore Sir Francis to his seat. At the King's intigitation, the lords desired a conference on this subject; but were absolutely refused by the commons, as the question regarded entirely their own privileges. They agreed, however, to make a remonstrance to the King by the mouth of their speaker; where they maintained, that, tho' the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the sole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the house itself, not to the chancellor. James was not satisfied, and ordered a conference between the house and the judges, whose opinion in this case was opposite to that of the commons. This conference, he said, he commanded as an *absolute* king †; an epithet we are apt to imagine, not very grateful to English ears.

much contended, the King might think the vote of the House no law, and might esteem his own decision of more weight than theirs. We may also suppose, that he was not acquainted with this vote. Queen Elizabeth in her speech to her last Parliament complained of their admitting *ex clausis*, and reprobated that offence of the House as a great abuse.

* 1. 17, 174.

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1604

proposed, that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by warrant of the house, for a new election. The commons embraced this expedient; but in such a manner, that, while they showed their regard for the King, they secured, for the future, the free possession of their seats, and the right, which they claimed, of judging solely in their own elections and returns.

A Power like this, so essential to the exercise of all their other powers, themselves so essential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the commons; but must be regarded as an inherent privilege, happily rescued from that ambiguity, which the negligence of some former parliaments had thrown upon it.

At the same time, the commons, in the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, established their power of punishing, as well the persons at whose suit any member is arrested, as the officers, who either arrest or detain him. Their asserting of this privilege admits of the same reflection.

ABOUT this period, the minds of men, throughout all Europe, but especially in England, seem to have undergone a general, but insensible revolution. Tho' letters had been revived in the preceding age, they had been little cultivated beyond the limits of the college; nor had they, till now, begun to spread themselves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements. Navigation had extended itself over the whole globe. Travelling was secure and agreeable. And the general system of politics, in Europe, was become more enlarged and comprehensive.

In consequence of this universal fermentation, the ideas of men enlarged themselves on all sides; and the several constituent parts of the gothic governments, which seem to have lain asleep for so many ages, began, every where, to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the necessity of discipline had begot mercenary armies, the prince commonly established an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England, the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitable to that cultivated understanding, which became, every day, more common, among men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited in every generous breast a passion for a limited constitution, and begot an emulation of those manly virtues, which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples, as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to us. The severe tho' popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds: But when a new and a foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and less beloved; symptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

HAPPILY this Prince possessed neither sufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor sufficient art and vigour to check it in its early advances. Jealous of regal, but not conscious of his personal authority, he had established within his own mind a peculiar form of absolute government; which few of his subjects, he believed, and some of his courtiers and rebels, would make any scruple to admit. On which-ever side he turned his eyes, every thing occurred to encourage his prejudices. When he compared himself with the other hereditary sovereigns of Europe, he imagined, that, as he bore the same rank, he was intitled to equal prerogatives; not to submit to the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force, by which their authority was supported. In England, that power almost unlimited, which had been exercised for above a century, especially during the late reign, he ascribed solely to royal birth and title; not to the prudence and spirit of the monarchs, nor to the conjunctures of the times. Even the opposition, which he had himself found in Scotland, encouraged him still farther in his favorite notions; while he there saw, that the same resistance, which opposed regal authority, violated all law and order, and made way, either for the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or for the more intolerable influence of seditious preachers. In his own person, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centered, by an hereditary and a divine right: And this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty; had not the firmness of the persuasion, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the usual provision either of force or policies, in order to support it.

Such were the opposite dispositions of parliament and prince, at the commencement of the Scottish line: the opposition just beginning to exist, and to appear in the parliament, but not openly established and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

The spirit and judgment of the house of commons depended not only on the sense of their own privileges, but also in their enclaving catholicks, as well as in, in vain to free trade from those shackles, which the high exertions of prerogative had ever, in this respect, the Elizabethan tyranny of Elizabeth, had imposed upon them.

James had a strong, and he often a cruel, call in all the numerous persons of no power, and little influence, created by his predecessors, and which he found extremely every where, persons of no influence: But the exclusion of papists still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all the commerce of that country, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious and avaricious, and the prospect of future happiness in commerce with foreign nations, and of future improvement of the fisheries. The companies, and the monopolies established in order to their privilege, and that the whole commerce of the country was centered in London; and it appears, that the citizens of that city, and the merchants of the north, while those of all the kingdom beside yielded an obsequious and slavish

C. p. 1
1584.

Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about 205 citizens, who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee, appointed to examine this enormous grievance, the greatest which we read of in English story, insist on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to the present received opinion, that shipping and seamen had sensibly decayed during all the preceding reign*. And tho' nothing be more common, than complaints of the decay of commerce, even during the most flourishing periods; yet is this a consequence which might naturally result from such arbitrary establishments, at a time when the trade of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed full liberty and indulgence.

WHILE the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they also endeavoured to free the landed interest from the burthen of wardships, and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures, under which the nation still laboured. A just regard was shown to the crown in the whole conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy, sought for, considered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favour. The profit, which the King reaped both from wards and from respite of homage, was estimated; and it was proposed to compound for these prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the house, and some conferences with the lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could easily, at that time, be surmounted; and it was not then brought to any conclusion.

THE same fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burthen of purveyance; an old prerogative in the crown, by which the officers of the household were empowered to take, without consent of the owner's provisions for the King's family, and carts and horses for the removal of his baggage, upon paying a certain stated price for them. This prerogative had been much abused by the purveyors; and the commons shewed some intention to offer the King fifty thousand pounds a-year for the abolition of it.

ANOTHER affair of the utmost consequence was brought before this parliament, where the commons shewed a greater spirit of independence than any true judgment of national interest. The union of the two kingdoms was very zealously, and even impatiently urged by the King. He justly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animosities of these hostile nations, and had reduced the whole island under one empire; enjoying tranquillity within itself, and security from all foreign invasion. He hoped, that, while his subjects

* A remonstrance from the Trinity-house, in 1602, says, that in a little above twelve years after 1582, the shipping and number of seamen in England decayed about a third part. Anglesey's happy future state of England, p. 124. from Sir James Clavel's collections.

Subjects of both kingdoms reflected on past disasters, besides regarding his person as infinitely precious, they would entertain the strongest desire of securing themselves against the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments and privileges. He considered not, that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner, on men's prejudices, and kept alive that mutual hatred between the nations, which had been carried to the highest extremity, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the King appeared in promoting to effect a measure, the more backward was the English parliament in concurring with him; while they ascribed his excessive zeal to that partiality, in favour of his ancient subjects, of which, they thought, that, on other occasions, they had reason to complain. Their complaisance for the King, therefore, could do them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scotch commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it.

THE same spirit of independence, and perhaps not better judgment, appeared in the house of commons, when the question of supply was brought before them, by some members, who were attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that, tho' the King received a supply, which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death; yet he found it burthened with a debt contracted by the Queen, equal to the full amount of it: That peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was still expensive to him: That on his journey from Scotland, amidst such an immense concourse of people, and on that of the Queen and royal family, he had expended considerable sums: And that, as the courtiers had looked for greater liberalities from the Prince on his accession, and had imposed on his generous nature; so the Prince, in his turn, would expect, at the beginning, some mark of duty and attachment from his people, and some consideration of his necessities. No impression was made on the house of commons by these topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to refuse all supply. The burthen of the government, at that time, lay surprisingly light upon the people: And that very reason, which to us, at this distance, may seem a motive for generosity, was the real cause why the parliament was, on all occasions, so remarkably frugal and reserved. They were not, as yet, accustomed to open their purses in so liberal a manner as their successors, in order to supply the wants of their sovereign; and the smallest demand, however requisite, appeared in their eyes unreasonable and exorbitant.

In order to cover a disappointment, which might bear a bad construction both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the house, where he told them, that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in returning what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, many

Chap. I.
1604.

visible marks of dissatisfaction. Even so early in his reign, he saw reason to make public complaints of the restless and encroaching spirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence, with which they endeavoured to inspire the commons.

Peace with
Spain.
18th August.

THIS summer, the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London. In the conferences, preparatory to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that, except on account of the support given by England to the low country provinces, the war might appear to have been continued more on account of personal animosity between Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. Some articles in the treaty, which seem prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the King; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared, that, by secret agreement, these articles were understood in a different sense from what they seem naturally to bear. The Constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace; and on the part of England, the Earl of Hartford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and splendid; and the Spaniards, it is said, were extremely surpris'd, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the priests, had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons.

Tho' England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly secure, during the latter years of the Spanish war, James shewed an extreme impatience to put an end to hostilities; and soon after his accession, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even propos'd by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque* which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth. The Archduke Albert had made some advances of a like nature†, which invited the King to take this friendly step. But what is remarkable; in James's proclamation for that purpose, he plainly supposes, that, as he had himself, while king of Scotland, always lived in amity with Spain, peace was attach'd to his person, and that merely by his accession to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement, he had ended the war between the kingdoms. This ignorance of the law of nations may appear surpris'ing in a Prince, who was thirty-six years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy, did we not consider, that a king of Scotland, who lives in close friendship with England, has few transactions to manage with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indolence, his love of amusement, particularly of hunting, to which he was extremely addict'd, ever prevented him from making any progress in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and in a little time diminished that regard, which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England, during the reign of his predecessor.

C H A P.

* 23d of June, 1603.

† Grossi Annal. Lib. 12.

C H A P. II.

Gun-powder conspiracy.—*A parliament.*—*Treaty betwixt Spain and the United Provinces.*—*A parliament.*—*Death of the French King.*—*Arminianism.*—*State of Ireland.*

WE come now to relate an event, one of the most memorable, which history has conveyed to posterity, and containing at once a singular proof both of the strength and weakness of the human mind; its widest departure from morals, and its most steady attachment to religious prejudices. 'Tis the *Gun-powder-treafon* of which I speak; a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

THE Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as he was descended from Mary, who had sacrificed her life to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was believed to have shown some partiality towards them; which nothing, they thought, but interest and necessity had since restrained. 'Tis pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion, so soon as he should mount the throne of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this sense some obliging expressions of the King, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them favourable to his title. Very soon they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of executing strictly the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations with regard to the distressed condition of the catholics, Piercy having broke into a fall of passion, and mentioned the assassinating the King; Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the catholic religion in England. In vain, said he, would you put an end to the King's life: He has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguish the whole royal family: The nobility, the gentry, the parliament are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors.

Chap. II.
1605.

cessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the King, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the Parliament; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall, in which they meet, and choosing the very moment when the King harangues both houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Mean while, we ourselves standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were past the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tost into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating perhaps still new prosecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences *.

PIERCY was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders, in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they insisted a new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the most sacred rite of their religion: And 'tis remarkable, that no one of these pious devotees ever entertained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many catholics must be present; as spectators or attendants on the King, or as having seats in the house of peers: But Tesmond, a jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, and showed them how the interests of religion required, that the innocent should here be sacrificed with the guilty.

All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in store of provisions with them, and never desisted from their labour. Obstinate to their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their work, they resolved there to perish in case of a discovery. Their perseverance ad-

vanced

* State Trials, vol. i.

wanted the work; and they soon pierced the wall, two or three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side, they were somewhat startled with hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found, that it came from the vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of arms had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately taken; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the vault covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly hung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

CONFIDENT of success, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The King, the Queen, Prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The Duke of Burgundy, of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Percy should seize him, or assassinate him. The Princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby, Radclyffe, Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends, under pretence of a hunting-match, and seizing that Princess, immediately to proclaim her Queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion, which must result from so respected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have initiated itself, by an universal massacre of the catholics.

This day, so long wished for, now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, tho' communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of near a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one co-conspirator, either to abandon the enterprise, or make a discovery of it. The holy Mary had extinguished in their breast every other motive; and it was not till then at last, proceeding solely from these very bigotted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation.

Chap. II.
1555.

expect the event in safety. For, tho' there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they will receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.

MONTEAGLE knew not what to make of this letter; and tho' inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Tho' Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the King, who came to town a few days after. To the King, it appeared not so light a matter; and from the serious earnest style of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied something very dangerous and important. A *terrible blow* and yet *the authors concealed*, a danger so *sudden* and yet so *great*, these circumstances seemed all to denote some contrivance by gun-gowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, Lord chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search, till the day before the meeting of the parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the upper house; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among those heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not passed unnoticed by the Lord chamberlain. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorow inspection should be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault, finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixt even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and shewing no concern but for the failure of the enterprize. This obstinacy lasted for two or three days: But being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being just shown to him; his courage, fatigued

with

with so long an effort, and unsupported by hope or society, at last failed him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Chap. II.
1023.

CATSBY, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London; tho' they had heard of the alarm taken at the letter sent to Montague, tho' they had heard of the lord chamberlain's search; yet were resolved to persist to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success *. But at last, hearing that Hawkes was arrested, they hurried away to Warwickshire; where Sir Everard Digby, making account that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters, and armed, by the sheriffs. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes, either of escaping or prevailing. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them for defence. The people rushed in upon them. Piercy and Catelby were killed with one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner.

NEITHER had the desperate fortune of the conspirators urged them to this enterprise, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for so great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct seems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Catelby's character had entitled him to such regard, that Rookwood and Digby were seduced by their implicate trust in his judgment; and they declared, that, from the motive alone of friendship to him, they were ready, on any occasion, to have sacrificed their lives. Digby himself was as highly esteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honoured with the good opinion of Queen Elizabeth. 'Twas bigotted zeal alone, the most absurd of prejudices masked with reason, the most criminal of passions covered with the appearance

* Some historians have imagined, that the King had secret intelligence of the conspiracy, and that the letter to Montague was wrote in his direction, in order to clear the name of prostitution in discovering the plot. But the known facts refute this supposition. That letter, being immediately taken on, might naturally have given an alarm to the conspirators, and made them suspect their escape. The earl of the Lord chamberlain ought to have had the same effect. In short, it appears, that no body was arrested or enquired after, for some days, till Hawkes uncovered their names. We may infer, however, from a letter in Walscot's Memorials, vol. iii. that Salisbury's rigidity led the King to this conjecture; and that the minister, like an artful courtier, gave his master the pain of the whole discovery.

Chan. II. appearance of duty, which seduced them into measures, that were fatal to them-
1605. selves, and had so nearly proved fatal to their country.

THE Lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholics, were fined, the former 10,000 pounds, the latter 4000, by the star-chamber; because their absence from parliament had begot a suspicion of their being made acquainted with the conspiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000 pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, among other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without his taking the requisite oaths. These sentences may be thought somewhat arbitrary: But such was the nature of all proceedings in the star chamber.

THE King, in his speech to the parliament, observed, that, tho' religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he said, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines; who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the Pope's power of dethroning kings, or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableness of puritans, who condemn alike to eternal torments, even the most inoffensive profelytes to popery. For his part, he added, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government: While with one hand he punished guilt; with the other, he would still support and protect innocence. After this speech, he prorogued the parliament, till the 22d of January.

1606. THE moderation, and, I may say, magnanimity, of the King, immediately after so narrow an escape from a most detestable conspiracy, was no way agreeable to his subjects. Their animosity against popery, even before this provocation, had risen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, by a little dissimulation, to have conformed himself to it. His theological learning, confirmed by disputation, had happily fixed his judgment in the protestant faith; yet was his heart a little biased by the allurements of Rome, and he had been extremely pleased, if the making some advances could have effected an union with that antient mother-church. He strove to abate the acrimony of his own subjects against the religion of their fathers: He became himself the object of their diffidence and aversion. Whatever measures he embraced; in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to enforce the authority of the present church, and support its rites and ceremonies; were interpreted as so many steps towards popery, and were represented by the fanatical puritans

Chap. II. at that time contented to copy fervilely the laboured and romantic inventions of
1605. her southern neighbour.

THE chief affair which was transacted next session, was the intended union of the
November 18. two kingdoms. Nothing could exceed the King's passion and zeal for this noble enterprize, but the parliament's prejudice and reluctance against it. There remain two excellent speeches in favour of the union, which deserve to be compared together; that of the King, and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Those, who affect in every thing such an extreme contempt for James, will be surpris'd to find, that his discourse, both for good reasoning and eloquent composition, approaches very near that of a man, who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greatest geniuses of Europe. A few trivial indiscretions and indecorums may be said to characterize the harangue of the monarch, and mark it for his own. And in general, so open and avowed a declaration in favour of a measure, where he had taken no care, by any precaution or intrigue, to ensure success, may safely be pronounced a very great indiscretion. But the art of managing parliaments, by private interest or cabal, being found hitherto of little use or necessity, was not, as yet, become a part of English politics. In the common course of affairs, government could be conducted without their assistance; and when their concurrence became requisite to the measures of the crown, it was, generally speaking, except in times of great faction and discontent, obtained without much difficulty.

THE King's influence seems to have rendered the Scotch parliament very cordial in all the steps, which they took towards the union. Tho' the advantages, which Scotland might hope from that measure, were more considerable; yet were the objections too, with regard to that kingdom, more striking and obvious. The benefit, which must have result'd to England, both by accession of strength and security, was not despicable; and as the English were, by far, the greater nation, and possess'd the seat of government, the objections, either from honour or jealousy, could not reasonably have any place among them. The English parliament indeed seem to have been sway'd merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they persisted so obstinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorow union and incorporation, ended only in the abolition of the hostile laws, formerly enacted between the kingdoms.

SOME precipitant steps, which the King, a little after his accession, had taken, in order to promote his favourite project, had been here observ'd to do more injury than service. From his own authority, he had assumed the title of King of Great Britain; and had quartered the arms of Scotland, with those of England, in all coins, flags, and ensigus. And he had employ'd the judges to

ness and justice, that all those, who, after the union of the crowns, lived 160 years in their kingdom, were, for their reason alone, naturalized in both. For, as it was written, and, according to the ideas of those times, interpreted of all nations, on both sides. The King was the father: The parliament, a second father. To render the people to receive the laws, as made by gods, and not by men, authority resides chiefly in the prince, and that these popular assemblies, whether ordained to assist with money and advice, than indeed with any other manner or active powers in the government. To resolve, says Bacon in his speeches on this subject, *that all other commonwealths, in matters only of state, are governed by a law precedent. For public authority is divided amongst many persons, and they are temporal, but annual or temporary, and not so rooted that they lay out by custom, and certain persons to have dominion in that nation, and therefore, there are only uncertain frames, which, of necessity, do perpetually have persons, chosen or appointed, to guide and direct them. But in monarchies, especially hereditary, there is, either several families or images of people do govern themselves, as in a state, superior or equal; the prince is not natural and lawful, which is contrary to the judgment, is perpetual and made more permanent, and thus is general by a nature.* It would seem from this reasoning, that the idea of an *English, limited monarchy*, tho' implicitly supposed in many public transactions, had never, as yet, been expressly formed, by any English lawyer or politician.

For, for the obliquity of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, most of their members, during the bill's, were sufficiently respected and obliging; tho' they had received a violent spirit, and a constant intention towards public good and national honour. The votes also of the commons shew, that that assembly consisted of a number of partisans, who had acquired great authority among them, and who, together with religious prejudices, were extremely prejudiced, in favour of a form more popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule, made the commons lead a willing ear to every discourse, which tended to augment their power and influence.

A petition was moved in the house, as a memorial to the violation of the laws of all people recurring, and an address to the parliament, *that the two bills* 1603 *to the two points were equally necessary to the peace and the tranquillity of the land, to proceed no farther in their passage. The commons were divided, and refused to consider them, and so the bill of petition, *that the commons should be considered, was rejected, that this measure of the commons, was supported by many persons,**

Chap. II. particularly during the reign of Elizabeth. Had the house been always disposed to make the precedents of that reign the rule of their conduct, they needed never have had any difference with any of their monarchs.

1607.

5th of June. THE complaints of Spanish depredations were very loud among the English merchants. The lower house sent a message to the lords, desiring a conference with them, in order to their presenting a joint petition to the King on that subject. The lords took some time to deliberate on this message; because, they said, the matter was *weighty* and *rare*. It probably occurred to them, at first, that the parliament's interposing in affairs of state would appear unusual and extraordinary. And to show, that in this sentiment they were not guided by court influence; after they had deliberated, they agreed to the conference. When all business was finished, the King prorogued the parliament.

4th of July.

ABOUT this time, there was an insurrection of the country people in Northamptonshire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about destroying inclosures; but carefully avoided the committing any other outrage. This insurrection was easily suppressed, and, tho' great lenity was used towards the insurgents, yet were some of the ringleaders punished. The chief cause of that trivial commotion seems to have been, of itself, far from trivial. It was become the common practice in England to disuse tillage, and throw the land into inclosures for the sake of pasture. By this means, the kingdom was depopulated, or at least, prevented from increasing so much in people, as might have been expected from the daily increase of industry and commerce.

1608.

NEXT year presents us nothing memorable: But in the spring of the subsequent, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which, for near half a century, had been carried on with such fury, be-

1609.

Truce betwixt
Spain and the
United Pro-
vinces.

tween Spain and the states of the United Provinces. Never contest seemed, at first, more unequal: Never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline: On the side of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprizes the republic maintained her armies; and joining peaceful industry to military valour, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely less on those neighbouring princes, who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her interest, and prevented her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the states, she at last agreed to treat with them as a

free people, and solemnly to renounce all claim and pretension to their favour- Chap. II.
reignty.

This chief point being engaged, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, and was under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. With extensive appearances of honour and respect were put equally to both nations: the very different were the sentiments, which the three, as well as all Europe, entertained of the parties, who were thus. Frugality and vigour, the chief characteristics, which procure regard among foreign nations, shone as conspicuously in Henry as they were defective in James. To a contempt of the English monarch, Henry had added a considerable degree of jealousy and aversion, which were arguments altogether without foundation. James was perfectly just and liberal in all transactions with his allies; but it appeared from the manners of those allies, that each side drew him partial towards their adversary, and wished, that he had entered into fortifications against them. So little equity have men in their judgments of their own allies; and so dangerous is that entire reliance, which is placed by the king of England!

The chief concern, which James took in foreign affairs, renders the domestic concerns, particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was called this spring; the King full of hopes of receiving supply; the commons, of their ascribing his excellent prerogative. The Earl of Salisbury, now created treasurer on the death of the Earl of Devon, his leg in the King's council, first to the Peers, then to a committee of the lower house. He insisted on the unavoidable expenses, in supplying the navy, and in supporting a late expedition in Ireland. He represented the enormous charge, which the King was obliged to maintain, Scotland, for the Queen, and her two Princes of Wales. He observed, that Queen Elizabeth, the first Queen of that name, had reigned only twenty years, during which period, while she was well, she gave no more than a million of pounds sterling; but that very same Elizabeth had reigned thirty years longer, while she was ill, and gave no more than a million of pounds sterling; and that he thought her present condition, with respect to her health, was such, as might reasonably be expected to last but a few months longer. He concluded, that the commons would be obliged to supply the King with a million of pounds sterling, and that he thought it would be a great deal more than the commons would be able to give. He then proposed, that the commons should be allowed to supply the King with a million of pounds sterling, and that he thought it would be a great deal more than the commons would be able to give.

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1610.

able. But not to shock the King with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which would scarce amount to a hundred thousand pounds. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects, who had no reasonable indulgence nor consideration for him.

AMONG the many causes of disgust and quarrel, which now, daily and unavoidably, multiplied between Prince and parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery and conquest of the West-Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a pitch beyond what had ever been known, since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion *, the Prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence and force, which had been maintained by former monarchs. But while money thus flowed into England, we may observe, that, at the same time, and probably from that very cause, art and industry of all kinds received a mighty increase; and elegance in every enjoyment of life became better known, and more cultivated among all ranks of people. The King's servants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his ministers, demanded more ample supplies from the impoverished Prince, and were not contented with the same simplicity of living, which had satisfied their ancestors. The Prince himself began to regard an increase of pomp and splendor as requisite to support the dignity of his character, and to preserve the same superiority above his subjects, which his predecessors had enjoyed. Some equality too, and proportion to the other sovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to desire; and as they had universally enlarged their revenue and multiplied their taxes, the King of England deemed it reasonable, that his subjects, who were generally richer than theirs, should bear with patience some additional burthens and impositions.

UNHAPPILY for the King, those very riches, with the increasing knowledge of the age, bred opposite sentiments in his subjects; and begetting a spirit of freedom and independence, disposed them to pay little regard, either to the entreaties or menaces of their sovereign. While the barons possessed their former immense property and extensive jurisdictions, they were apt, on every disgust, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confusion: But this very confusion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch,

* While the great dissipation of the crown lands, the free farms were never increased, and the other lands were let on long leases and at a great undervalue, little or nothing above the old rent.

nausea, and made the nation again submit to him, in order to mend their peace and tranquility. After that both the power of administration, and the interest of commerce had thrown the balance of property into the scales of the commons, the situation of affairs and the dispositions of men looked like the picture of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not supported chiefly by the authority of the sovereign. And thro' in that interval, after the failure of the peace, and before the people had yet experienced their force, the princes assumed an exorbitant power, and had almost annihilated the constitution under the weight of their prerogative; so soon as the commons recovered from their lethargy, they soon to have been annihilated at the dinner, and were resolved to secure liberty by firmer barriers, than their ancestors had hitherto provided for it.

HAD James possessed a very rigid integrity, he might have warded off this offence somewhat longer; and waiting patiently for a favourable opportunity to increase and fix his revenue, might have secured the executive authority, which was transmitted to him. On the other hand, had the commons been inclined to all such more generosity and kindness towards their Prince, they might probably have turned his necessities to good account, and have bribed him to depart peaceably from the most dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; they were soured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money: And, in this situation, it is no wonder, that, during this whole reign, we scarce find an interval of mutual confidence and friendship between prince and parliament.

THE King, by his prerogative alone, had, some years before, altered all the customs, and established new impositions on almost every kind of merchandise. The precedents for so dangerous an exercise of power were neither very recent nor very numerous. One in the reign of Mary, another in the beginning of Elizabeth, were the latest that could be found. But, as the impositions of these two Queens had been all along submitted to, and still continued to be paid; they did not so much excite a kind of doubt and ambiguity on this question, which was only settled in favour to the constitution. The charitable mistake, that the king, by his usual tricks, or new regulations, intended to their prerogative the improvement of foreign commerce; and that commerce being necessary to the support of the kingdom, they were the necessary concessions to the royal will. The thing, however, could not be done, or it would have been a new kind of impost, and a new kind of prerogative, not a then that was regulated by laws. The commons were bound to make it their business to be vigilant to prevent such a kind of impost, and to watch them in the beginning of Elizabeth, James was obliged to give up the prerogative to that purpose. On this occasion the Commons were very bold to the king's prerogative, and they had obtained a great

intelligible to the English constitution was, before the parliament was able, by continued acquisitions or encroachments, to establish it on six principles of liberty.

Upon the settlement of the reformation, that extensive branch of power, which regards ecclesiastical matters, being then without an owner, seemed to belong to the first occupier; and Henry failed not immediately to seize it, and to exert it even to the utmost degree of tyranny. The possession of it was continued with Edward; and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious Princess was so remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that she severely reprimanded the parliament, if they ever presumed to intermeddle in these matters; and they were to be over-awed by her authority, as to submit, and to ask pardon on these occasions. But James's parliaments were much less obsequious. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to consider this prerogative. They therefore saw a very large province of government, possessed by the King alone, and never communicated with the parliament. They were sensible, that this province admitted not of any exact boundary or circumscription. They had felt, that the Roman pontiff, in former ages, under pretence of religion, was gradually making advances to usurp the whole civil power. They dreaded still more dangerous consequences from the claims of their own sovereign, who resided among them, and who, in many other respects, possessed such unlimited authority. They therefore deemed it absolutely requisite to circumscribe this branch of prerogative: and accordingly, in the preceding session, they passed a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical courts without consent of parliament. But the house of lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

In this session, the commons contented themselves with remonstrating against the proceedings of the *high commission court*. It required no great penetration to see the extreme danger to liberty, arising from large discretionary powers in a royal government. But James, as was natural, rejected the application of the commons. He was probably sensible, that, besides the great diminution of his authority, many inconveniencies must necessarily result from the abolishing all power of this nature in every magistrate, and that the laws, were they ever so exactly framed and disposed, could not possibly provide against all contingencies; much less, where they had not, as yet, attained a sufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the business, which chiefly occupied the commons, during this session, was the abolition of wardships and purveyance prerogatives, which had been long or less touched on, every session, during the whole reign of James. In this year, the commons employed the proper means, which might induce them to success: They offered the King a fixed revenue as an equivalent for the power, which he should put with; and the King was willing to hearken to terms.

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1610.

pose than to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity.

1611.

Arminianism.

THO' James's timidity and indolence fixed him, during most of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened, this year, an event in Europe of such mighty consequence as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and enterprize. A professor of divinity, named Vorstius, the disciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch university; and as he differed from his Britannic Majesty in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was, at last, obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or eluded. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtiness and insolence; and the states were obliged, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish him their dominions. The King carried no farther his persecutions against that professor; tho' he had very charitably hinted to the states, *That, as to the burning Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames.* It is to be remarked, that, at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed, even in protestant countries; and instances were not wanting in England, during the reign of James. The Dutch themselves were, at last, by state-intrigue, and the tyranny of Prince Maurice, forced from their rational and humane maxims; and the persecuting bigots, a little after this time, signalized their power by the death of the virtuous Barneveldt, and the imprisonment of the virtuous and learned Grotius. The scholastic controversies about free-will, and grace, and predestination, begot these violent convulsions.

In tracing the coherence among the systems of modern theology, we may observe, that the doctrine of absolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the enthusiastic spirit; as that doctrine affords the highest subject of joy, triumph, and security, to the supposed elect, and exalts them, by infinite degrees, above the rest of mankind. All the first reformers adopted these principles; and the Jansenists too, a fanatical sect in France, not to mention the Mahometans in Asia, have ever embraced them. As the Lutheran establishments were subjected to episcopal jurisdiction, their enthusiastic genius gradually decayed, and men had leisure to perceive the absurdity of supposing God to punish, by infinite torments, what he himself, from all eternity, had unchangeably decreed. The King, tho' at this time, his Calvinistic education had rivetted him in the doctrine of absolute decrees,

crees, yet, being a zealous partizan of episcopacy, was insensibly ingaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour the milder theology of Arminius. Even in to great a doctor, the genius of the religion prevailed over its speculative tenets; and with him, the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of absolute reprobation and unconditional decrees. Some noise was, at first, made about these innovations; but being drowned in the fury of factions and civil wars, which succeeded, the scholastic arguments made an insignificant figure amidst those violent disputes about civil and ecclesiastical power, with which the nation was agitated. And upon the restoration, the church, tho' she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more suitable to the genius of her discipline and worship, without its being possible to assign the precise period, in which the alteration was produced.

It may be worth observing, that, about this time, James, from his great desire to promote controversial divinity, erected a college at Chelsea for the entertainment of twenty persons, who should be entirely employed in refuting the papists and puritans. All the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an establishment for the cultivation of natural philosophy: Even to this day, no society has been instituted for the polishing and fixing our language. The only encouragement, which the sovereign in England has ever given to any thing, that has the appearance of science, was this short-lived establishment of James; an institution quite superfluous, considering the unhappy propensity, which, at that time, so universally possessed the nation for polemical divinity.

To consider James in a more advantageous light, we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland; and most of the institutions, which he had himself for the civilizing that kingdom, being finished about this period, it may not seem improper to give some account of them. He frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his masterpiece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity, in this particular, was not altogether without foundation.

AFTER the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the more difficult task still remained; to civilize the barbarous inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work, by a steady, regular, and well concerted plan; and, in the space of nine years, according to Sir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been made in the 40 years, which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted.

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1687.

I was particularly sensible to diminish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and civility.

By the Irish law or custom, no crime, however enormous, was punished with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value, affixed to him, which, if any one was willing to pay, he needed not fear the assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric*. When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being Lord deputy, told Maquire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law; *Then, sheriff, said Maquire, shall be welcome to me: but, let me know, what reward, this eric, or the price of his head; that, if my people are vexed, I may lay the money upon the county.* As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such offences could ever be obtained.

The customs of *Gavelkind* and *Tanistry* were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. Upon the death of any person, his land, by the custom of *Gavelkind*, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate: And, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands, belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

The chieftains and the Tanists, tho' drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was absolute; and, notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish, *That they dwell westward of the law, which dwells beyond the river of the Barrow*: Meaning the country, where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

After abolishing these Irish customs, and substituting English law in their place; James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil.

CHAP. III.

*Death of Prince Henry.—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the
Palatine.—Rise of Somerset.—His marriage.—Overbury poison-
ed.—Fall of Somerset.—Rise of Buckingham.—Cautionary towns
delivered.—Affairs of Scotland.*

1612.

November 6.
Death of
Prince Henry.

THIS year the sudden death of Henry, Prince of Wales, diffused an universal grief thro' the nation. Tho' youth and royal birth, both of them strong allurements, prepossess men mightily in favour of the early age of all princes ; 'tis with peculiar fondness, that historians mention Henry : And, in every respect, his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he possessed already more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had seduced him into any irregular pleasures : Business and ambition seem to have been his sole passion. His inclination, as well as exercises, were intirely martial. The French ambassador, coming to take leave of him, and ask his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike ; *Tell your King*, said he, *in what occupation you left me engaged* *. He had conceived great affection and esteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his saying, *Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage*. He seems, indeed, to have nourished too violent a contempt for the King, on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity ; and by that means, struck in with the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepossession, which men commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other warlike virtues, engages generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits, as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind.

VIOLENT reports were propagated, as if Henry had been carried off by poison ; but the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion.

* The French monarch had given particular orders to his ministers to cultivate the Prince's friendship ; who must soon, said he, have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in so little estimation. See *Dep. de la Boderie*.

opinion. The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens spared not even the King on that occasion. But that prince's character seems to have failed rather in the extreme of facility and humanity, than in that of cruelty and violence. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a very large and independent settlement, even in so early youth.

The marriage of the Princess, Elizabeth, with Frederic, the Elector Palatine, was delayed some time after the death of the Prince, and served to dissipate the grief, which arose on that melancholy event. But this marriage, tho' celebrated with great joy and festivity, proved, itself, a very unhappy event to the King, as well as to his son-in-law, and had ill consequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The Elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength: And the King, not supporting him in his distress, left entire'y, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and esteem of his own subjects.

Exeter during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation. A most interesting object had, for some years, engaged the attention of the court: It was a favourite, and one beloved by James with so profuse and unlimited an affection, that it left no room for any rival or competitor. About the end of the year 1600, Robert Carey, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: All his acquired abilities, in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman Lord Hay; and that Nobleman no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he discovered talents, sufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government. Applied to the King's passion for youth, and beauty, and exterior appearance, he needed not how matters might be so adjusted, that this new object should make the former less pressing upon him. Without mentioning him at court, he assigned him two offices, as a match of tilting, or presenting to the King his buckler and javelin; and hoped that he would attract the attention of that monarch. Perceiving himself to serve to his design, by an inclination, which was, at first, a common one. When Carey was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse threw him, and broke his leg in the King's presence. James approached with pity and concern: Love and affection gave on the sight of his beauty, and youth, and the Prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himself, after the thing, paid him a visit to his chamber, and returned frequently during his convalescence. The ignorance

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and simplicity of the boy finished the conquest, begun by his exterior graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of chusing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their subjects, and have reposed themselves on them with the more unreserved confidence and affection, that the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquisition : James was desirous, that his favourite should also derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he pleased himself with the fancy, that this raw youth, by his lessons and instructions, would, in a little time, be equal to his sagest ministers, and be initiated into all the profound mysteries of government, on which he set so high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he seems to have indulged an unlimited fondness for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He soon knighted him, created him Viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and, tho' at first without assigning him any particular office, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns. Suitable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honour, were the riches heaped upon the needy favourite ; and while Salisbury and all the wisest ministers could scarce find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the o'erburthened machine of government, James, with unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this insignificant and useless pageant.

It is said, that the King found his pupil so ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the lowest rudiments of the Latin tongue ; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and instructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of state would be introduced ; and the stripling, by the ascendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical instruction. Such scenes, and such incidents, are the more ridiculous, tho' the less odious, that the passion of James seems not to have contained in it any thing criminal or flagitious. History charges herself willingly with a relation of the great crimes, or the great virtues of mankind ; but she appears to fall from her dignity, when she hesitates to dwell on such frivolous events and ignoble performances.

This favourite was not, at first, so invested and with advancement, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend ; and he was more fortunate in his choice, than is usual with such pampered minions. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counsellor, who, holding all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, endeavoured to insinuate into him the principles of prudence and discretion.

direction. By zealously serving every body, Carr was sought to adorn the navy, Chap. III.
1697. which might attend his field in elevation; his frugality appeared to the Public, he learned to despise the pleasures, which private luxury had seduced; and to be regarded as he was esteemed to be, formed by Cæsar's example, a model of virtue; what is rare, the highest favour of the Prince without being hated by the People.

To complete the measure of earthly happiness, he might yet want but a kind mistress; and, where high fortune occurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to obtain. But it was here that the favourite met with that rock, on which all his happiness was wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of inkary, grief, and misery.

No sooner had James ascended the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the satisfaction of uniting these families by the marriage of Essex with Lady Francis Howard's daughter to the Earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he but twenty years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad, and pass some time in his travel. He returned to England after four years absence, and was pleased to find his Court still in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But, when the Earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a husband, he met with nothing but tyrannic toms of aversion and disgust, and a far retiral of any former familiarities. He applied to her parents, who contrived her to travel back to the country, and to partake of his bed: But nothing could overcome her fixed prejudices and obduracy; and she refused to comply, without having secured some material pleasures. Disgusted with resistance, and not long able to govern the passions, and sparing himself from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and direction.

Some conjectures were made in Lady Essex's breast, whether an attachment to a mistress could be so fatal to her health, and how soon she might be able to resume her former impression on the tender bosom of the young Countess. The Countess, however, was not to be so easily deceived; she knew that she was engaged to a man, who had not a suspicion, and whose duty was upon that point, only to obey his mistress's inclination. The story was known to William and Henry, who were not persons of great civility or refinement, still they had recently married Countessery, and the Countess's inclination they had followed with assiduity. They, some re-

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union between them was not intire and indissoluble. And the lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient, till their mutual ardour should be crowned with marriage.

So momentous an affair could not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. While that faithful friend had considered his patron's attachment to the Countess of Essex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and passionate letters, which he dictated, that Rochester had met with such success in his addresses. Like an experienced courtier, he thought, that a conquest of this nature would throw a lustre on the youthful favourite, and would tend still further to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rochester mentioned his design of marrying the Countess; and he used every method to dissuade his friend from so foolish an attempt. He represented, how invidious, how difficult an enterprize it was to procure her a divorce from her husband: How dangerous, how shameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And, in the zeal of friendship, he went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage.

ROCHESTER had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the Countess of Essex; and when her rage and fury broke out against Overbury, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear vengeance against his friend, for the utmost instance, which he could receive, of his faithful friendship. Some contrivance was requisite for the execution of their purpose. Rochester addressed himself to the King; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begot in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely disagreeable, he procured a commission for his embassy to Russia; which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himself the task of satisfying the King, if he should be any way displeased with the refusal. To the King again, he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpose: He confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was debarred from the sight

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THE ablest minister whom James ever possessed, the Earl of Salisbury, was dead *: Suffolk, a man of slender capacity, had succeeded him in his office : And it was now his task to supply, from an exhausted treasury, the profusion of James and his young favourite. The title of baronet, invented by Salisbury, was sold ; and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood, were disposed of for so many thousand pounds : Each rank of nobility had also its price affixed to it : Privy seals were circulated to the value of 200,000 pounds : Benevolences were exacted to the amount of 52,000 pounds : And some monopolies, of no great value, were created. But all these expedients proved insufficient to supply the King's necessities. However small the hopes of success, a new parliament must be summoned, and this dangerous expedient, for such it was now become, once more be put to trial.

1614.
5th of April.
A parliament.

WHEN the commons were assembled, they discovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumour, which was spread abroad concerning *undertakers*. It was reported, that several persons, attached to the King, had entered into a confederacy ; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had distributed their interest all over England, and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty. Had they been contented to follow the maxims of their predecessors, who, as the Earl of Salisbury said to the last parliament, never, but thrice in six hundred years, refused a supply ; they needed not dread, that the crown should ever interest itself in their elections. Formerly, the Kings even insisted, that none of their household should ever be elected members ; and, tho' the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI. from his great favour to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they should be exempted from this trouble †. 'Tis well known, that, in antient times, a seat in the house being considered as a burthen, attended neither with honour nor profit, it was requisite for the counties and boroughs to pay fees to their representatives. About this time, a seat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country-gentlemen contended for it ; tho' the practice of levying wages for the parliament men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till long afterwards, when liberty was thoroughly established, and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

So

* 14th of May 1612.

† Coke's institutes, part 4. chap. 1. of charters of exemption.

So little skill or so final means had the courtiers, in James's reign, for managing elections, that the house of commons showed rather a broader spirit of liberty than the house of lords; and instead of entering upon the bill of the 1st of James, as urged by the King and the minister, they immediately refused the bill, which had been introduced last parliament, and diffused his Majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions, by the mere authority of his personage. It is remarkable, that, in their debates on this subject, the commons frequently placed as a precedent, the example of all the other hereditary monarchs in Europe, and mentioned particularly the kings of France and Spain, who were not less powerful by the house, either with respect or indignation. The members of the opposite party, either contented themselves with denying the justice of the comparison, or they disputed the truth of the observation. And a particular instance in particular, Sir Roger Owen, even in arguing against the impositions, very truly allowed, that the king of England was endued with as ample power and prerogative as any prince in Christendom*. The nations on the contrary, were justly proud, they said fully, in that age, to be made masters of liberty; and the English were proud of little more.

The commons applied to the lords for a conference with regard to the new bill, which the speech of the bishop of Lincoln, referring on the lower house, brought into discussion; and the King seized the opportunity of calling in immediately, with great magnificence, a parliament, which had shewn so firm a resolution of maintaining his prerogative, without communicating, in return, the same supply to his revenues. He carried his resentment so far as even to throw out of the house the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures. In what else he pleased, in execution of this violence, the members of the house and other members of the house of Peers. The people and the parliament, however, were so strong for ever all their liberties and privileges, except for the sake of some of these prerogatives, however important. And now the necessary result, spontaneous admission, the result, that could be granted, no measure of the house of Peers and that the house of Commons, which was a second and third power, and from which each of the two houses of the parliament, the old, larger house, new form of civil government, more common and more just.

It is the public and general conduct of the King and the house of Commons, throughout this whole reign, that is generally followed as a model of good government, and is not to mention, that the very same the foundation of that country, and the great and common sense. During the reign of the monarch, a great and good, the monarch in the house of Commons and the house of Commons and the house of Commons.

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1614.

the highest sentiments of liberty, which the commons contented themselves to hear with silence and seeming approbation; and the King, informed of these harangues, concluded the whole house to be infected with the same principles, and to be engaged in a combination against his prerogative. The King, on the other hand, tho' he valued himself extremely on his king-craft, and was not altogether incapable of dissimulation, seems to have been very little endued with the gift of secrecy; but openly, at his table, in all companies, inculcated those monarchical tenets, which he had so strongly imbibed. Before a numerous audience, he had expressed himself with great disparagement of the common law of England, and had given the preference, in the strongest terms, to the civil law: And for this indiscretion he found himself obliged to apologize, in a speech to the former parliament. As a specimen of his usual liberty of talk, we may mention a story, tho' it passed some time afterwards, which we meet with in the life of Waller, and which that poet used frequently to repeat. When Waller was young, he had the curiosity to go to court; and he stood in the circle, and saw James dine; where, among other company, there sat at table two bishops, Neile and Andrews. The King proposed aloud this question, Whether he might not take his subjects money, when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament? Neile replied, *God forbid you should not: For you are the breath of our nostrils.* Andrews declined answering, and said, he was not skilled in parliamentary cases: But upon the King's urging him, and saying he would admit of no evasion, the bishop replied very pleasantly: *Why then, I think your Majesty may very lawfully take my brother Neile's money: For he offers it.*

1615.

Somerfet's
fall.

THE favourite had hitherto escaped the inquiry of justice; but he had not escaped that still voice, which can make itself be heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, and astonishes the criminal with a just representation of his most secret enormities. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmost kindness and indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his politeness and obliging behaviour were changed into sullenness and silence. And the King, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man, who no longer contributed to his amusement.

THE sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this alienation: Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the King. George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome

handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy, he was purposely placed full in Jones's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the first instant, the adoration of that monarch. A command was issued for attendance, the King endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handsome stranger; and he employed all his power and policy to fix him in his service, without being able to do it. He desired him to dine at his table, and to sit on his horse, and he was entranced by the Queen; and he protested, that it should have been compliance to her choice, he would agree to admit him near his person. The Queen was immediately applied to; but she, well knowing the extent to which the King carried this attachment, refused, at first, to lend her countenance to the new passion. It was not till entreated by Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, a decent prelate, and one much prejudiced against Somerset, that she would consent to oblige her husband, by asking this favour of him. And the King, thinking now that a favourite was well fully saved, no longer constrained his affection, but immediately bestowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers.

The whole court were thrown into parties between the two factions; where some only laboured to advance the rising fortunes of Villiers, and others seemed at fault to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The King himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the stern jealousy of the old favourite, who refused every advance of friendship from his rival, beget perpetual quarrels between their several partisans. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so well merited.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poison, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole matter, and soon this at last came to the ears of Trumbull, the King's envoy in the Low Countries. Richelieu, Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, and others, sent him intelligence immediately to Jones. The King, alarmed at the discovery of this enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his private council, ordered Coke, Lord Chief Justice, and earl of Salisbury, to examine the prisoner and the accused persons. This examination was extremely long and tedious; the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled; Trumbull, Goodrich, Sir Jervis Elwes, master of the Tower, Fenwick, Arden, Mordaunt, were all tried and condemned: Somerset and his Countess were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had not been made public till late.

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1645.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her, that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins : She was a whore, a bawd, a forcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer. And what may more surprize us, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick. Such were the bigotted prejudices which prevailed in this age : Poisoning was not, of itself, sufficiently odious, if it was not represented as a branch of popery. Stowe tells us, that, when the King came to Newcastle, on his first entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those confined for treason, murder, and papistry. When one considers these circumstances, that furious bigotry of the catholics, which broke out into the gunpowder conspiracy, appears the less surprizing.

ALL the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the punishment due to their crime : But the King bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the Countess. It must be confessed, that James's fortitude had been highly laudable, had he persisted in his first intention of consigning over to severe justice all the criminals : But let us still beware of blaming him too harshly, if, on the approach of the fatal hour, he scrupled to deliver into the hands of the executioner, persons whom he had once favoured with his most tender affections. To soften the rigour of their fate, after some years imprisonment, he restored them their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred ; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence.

SEVERAL historians, in relating these events, have insisted much on the dissimulation of James's behaviour, when he delivered Somerset into the hands of the chief justice ; on the insolent menaces of that criminal ; on his peremptory refusal to stand a trial ; and on the extreme anxiety of the King during the whole progress of this affair. Allowing all these circumstances to be true, of which some are suspicious, if not palpably false, the great remains of tenderness, which James still felt for Somerset, may, perhaps, be sufficient to account for them. That favourite was high-spirited ; and resolute rather to perish than live under the infamy to which he was exposed. James was sensible that the pardoning so great a criminal, which was of itself invidious, would become still more unpopular, if his obstinate and stubborn behaviour on his trial should augment the public hatred against him. At least, the undeserved confidence, in which the King had indulged his favourite for several years, might render Somerset master of so many secrets, that it is impossible, without farther light, to assign the particular cause of that superiority, which, 'tis said, he appeared so much to assume.

The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the height of favour, of honours, and of riches. Had James's nation been governed by common rules of prudence, the office of equestrian would have suited Villiers to his person, and might well have contented one of his age and family; nor would any one, who was not cynically austere, have much censured the singularity of the King's taste in amusements. But such advancement was far inferior to the promotion which he intended for his favourite. In the course of a few years, he created him Viscount Villiers, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and Lord High Admiral of England. His brother obtained the title of Countess of Buckingham: His brother was created Viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of many relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond Prince, while he meant to play the tutor to his favourite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him, for ever, rash, precipitant, and intolent.

A young minion to gratify with pleasure, a necessitous family to supply with riches, were enterprizes too great for the empty exchequer of James. In order to clear a little money, the cautionary towns must be delivered up to the Dutch; a measure which has been severely blamed by almost all historians; and I may venture to affirm, that, tho' it must be owned somewhat in politic, it has been censured much beyond its real weight and importance.

When Queen Elizabeth advanced money for the support of the infant republic, besides the view of securing herself against the exorbitant power and ambition of Spain, she still reserved the prospect of reimbursement; and she got assigned to her hands the three important fortresses of Breda, the Brill, and Ramerloo, as pledges for the money which was due to her. In consent to the reciprocal cession of the states, she agreed that the debt should bear no interest, and she stipulated, that, if ever England made peace with Spain, she should pay the troops which garrisoned these fortresses. It appears from Joubert's letters, that he was then expected a very considerable amount of the debt, even at a time when James's exchequer was in tolerable order, from the only considerable supply which his parliament had ever granted him: Much more were they inclined to do, in the hope by his present concessions to diminish. In this negotiation they employed Canon, their minister, who offered the King a little above the third

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of the money, which was due to him, and which amounted in the whole to about 700,000 pounds. It occurred to James, that the pay of the garrisons was so burthenfome on his slender revenue, that very large arrears were owing them, and they were ready to mutiny for want of subsistence; that, since the King's accession, above 300,000 pounds had been expended for their support, and there appeared no end of these charges; that by the strictest computation the third of the sum, paid him presently, was much preferable to the whole payable ten years after; that the states, trusting to his pacific maxims, as well as the close union of interest and affection with his people, were no ways anxious for the recovery of these places, and might allow them to lye long in his hands, if full payment was insisted on; that this union was really so intimate, that no reasonable measures for mutual support would be wanting from the Dutch, even tho' freed from the dependance of these garrisons; and that the exchequer of the republic was at present very low, insomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themselves in that posture of defence, which was requisite during the truce with Spain. These reasons, together with his urgent wants, induced the King to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the cautionary towns, which held the states in total subjection, and which an ambitious and enterprizing prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

6th of Juny.

1617.

Affairs of
Scotland.

WHEN the crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreseen by the Scotch nation, that the independance of their kingdom, the object, for which their ancestors had shed such an ocean of blood, would now be utterly lost; and that, if both states persevered in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker would feel more sensibly the subjection, than if it had been totally subdued by force of arms. But these views did not generally occur. The glory of having given a sovereign to their powerful enemy, the advantages of present peace and tranquillity, the riches acquired from the munificence of their master; these considerations secured their dutiful obedience to a Prince, who daily gave such sensible proofs of his friendship and partiality towards them. Never had the authority of any king, who resided among them, been so firmly established as was that of James, even when absent; and as the administration had been hitherto conducted with great order and tranquillity, there had happened no occurrence to draw thither our attention. But this summer, the King was resolved to pay a visit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendships and connexions, and to introduce that change of ecclesiastical discipline and government, on which his mind was extremely bent. The three chief points, which the King proposed

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WHAT rendered the King's aim more apparent, were the endeavours, which, at the same time, he used to introduce into Scotland some of the ceremonies of the church of England: The rest, it was easily foreseen, would soon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by opposition, had so possessed the minds of the Scotch reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worship, were disdainfully rejected as useless burthens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous extasies, and cramping the operations of that divine spirit, by which they supposed themselves to be animated. A mode of worship was established, the most naked and most simple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the senses; but reposed itself intirely on the contemplation of that divine essence, which discovers itself to the understanding only. This species of devotion, so worthy of the supreme Being, but so little suitable to human frailty, was observed to occasion great disturbances in the breast, and in many respects to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. The mind, straining for these extraordinary raptures, reaching them by short glances, sinking again under its own weakness, rejecting all exterior aid of pomp and ceremony, was so occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every intercourse of society, and from every sweet or chearful amusement, which could soften or humanize the character. It was obvious to all discerning eyes, and had not escaped the King's, that by the prevalence of fanaticism, a gloomy and sullen disposition established itself among the people; a spirit, obstinate and dangerous; independent and disorderly; animated equally with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion, particularly to the catholic. In order to mellow these humours, James endeavoured to infuse a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and to introduce such rites as might, in some degree, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity, by which the reformation was distinguished. The finer arts too, tho' still rude in these northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the King's chappel, in which an organ was erected, and some pictures and statues displayed, was proposed as a model to the rest of the nation. But music was grating to the prejudiced ears of the Scotch clergy; sculpture and painting appeared instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and each motion or gesture, prescribed by the liturgy, was a step towards that spiritual Babylon, so much the object of their horror and aversion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own mystical comments on the scriptures, which they idolized, and whose eastern prophetic style they employed in every common occurrence of life.

It will not be necessary to give a particular account of the ceremonies, which the King was so intent to establish. Such institutions, for a time, are esteemed,
either

either too divine to have proceeded from any other being than the supreme Creator of the universe, or too diabolical to have been derived from other than an infernal demon. But no *fact* is the mole of the controversy; *it*, that they are universally discovered to be of so little importance as scarcely to be mentioned with dignity in the ordinary course of human transactions. It is here sufficient to remark, that *rites* introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the sacrament, private excommunication, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of fast-days and other festivals. These ceremonies were afterwards known by the name of the articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the assembly.

Chap. III. a civil nature. The church adopted his cause. They raised a sedition in Edinburgh*. The King, during some time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himself. A few days afterwards, a minister, preaching in the principal church of that capital, said, that the King was possessed with a devil; and, that one devil being expelled, seven worse had entered in his place. To which he added, that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand. Scarce, even during the darkest night of papal superstition, are there found such instances of priestly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland present to us during that period.

By these extravagant stretches of power, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to lose ground, even before the King's accession to the throne of England: But no sooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scotch clergy sensible, that he was become the sovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Tho' formerly he would have thought himself happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, he was now resolved to exert a supreme jurisdiction in church as well as state, and to put an end to their seditious practices. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen†; but, on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, disavowing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of them as submitted, and acknowledged their error, he pardoned. The rest he brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treason. He gave them their lives; but banished them the kingdom. Six of them suffered this penalty.

THE general assembly was afterwards induced‡ to acknowledge the King's authority in summoning ecclesiastical courts, and to submit to the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishops. Even their favourite sentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unless confirmed by the ordinary. The King recommended to the presbyteries the members, whom they should elect to this assembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty.

By his own prerogative likewise, which he seems to have stretched on this occasion, the King erected a court of high commission§, in imitation of that established in England. The bishops and a few of the clergy, who had been summoned together, willingly acknowledged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature.

BUT

* 17th Dec. 1596. † July, 1604. ‡ 6th of June, 1610. § 15th of Feb. 1610.

BUT James reserved the final blow for the time when he should himself pay a visit to Scotland. He proposed to the Parliament, which was then assembled, that they should enact, that, "whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of a law." What number should be deemed competent was not determined: And their nomination was left intirely to the King: So that his ecclesiastical authority, had this bill passed, would have been established in its full extent. Some of the clergy protested. They apprehended, they said, that the purity of their church, would, by means of this new authority, be polluted with the whole rites and liturgy of the church of England. James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped the act, which had already passed the lords of articles; and asserted, that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by this bill. Some time after, he called, at St. Andrews, a meeting of the bishops and thirty six of the most eminent clergy. He there declared his resolution of exerting his prerogative, and of establishing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to summon a general assembly, and to procure their consent. The King asking, *What assurance he might have of the assembly's consent*; they answered, That they saw no reason to the contrary, and knew that the assembly would yield to any reasonable demand of his Majesty. *But if it fall out otherwise*, said the King, *and my demand be refused; my difficulty shall be the greater: And when I shall use my authority in establishing the ceremonies, they will call me tyrant and persecutor.* All crying out, that none could be so mad; *Yet experience*, said the King, *tells me, that it may readily happen.* *Therefore, unless I be made sure, I will not give way to an assembly.* Galloway, one of the ministers, saying, that the Archbishop of St. Andrews would answer for them, the Archbishop refused: For that he had been deceived by them, and had sufficiently experienced their breach of promise. Then said Galloway, *If your Majesty will trust me, I will answer for them.* The King consented; and an assembly was summoned on the 2^d of November ensuing.

YET this assembly, which met after the King's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications; and it was not till the subsequent year, that he was able to procure a vote for receiving his ceremonies. And thro' every step of this affair, in the parliament as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation betrayed the utmost reluctance to all these innovations; and nothing but James's importunity and authority had extorted a seeming consent, which was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people. Even the few, over whom religious prin-

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dices were not prevalent, thought the national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship, practised in England. And every prudent man agreed in condemning the measures of the King, who, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, tho' in an opposite manner, equal narrowness of mind, with the persons, whom he treated with such contempt. It was judged, that, had not these dangerous humours been irritated by opposition; had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate; they would at last have subsided within the limits of law and civil authority. And as all fanatical religions naturally circumscribe, to very narrow bounds, the numbers and riches of the ecclesiastics; no sooner is their first fire spent, than they lose the most dangerous part of their credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their civil and moral obligations.

At the same time, that James shocked, in so violent a manner, the religious principles of his Scotch subjects, he acted in opposition to those of his English. He had observed, in his progress thro' England, that a judaical observance of the Sunday, chiefly by means of the puritans, was, every day, gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and that the people, under pretence of religion, were, contrary to former practice, debarred from such sports and recreations, as contributed both to their health and their amusement. Festivals, which in other nations and ages, are partly dedicated to public worship, partly to mirth and society, were here totally appropriated to the offices of religion, and served to nourish those sullen and gloomy contemplations, to which the people were, of themselves, so unfortunately subject. The King falsely concluded, that it would be easy to infuse cheerfulness into this dark spirit of devotion. He issued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and by his authority, he endeavoured to give sanction to a practice, which his subjects regarded as the utmost profaneness and impiety.

C H A P. IV.

Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition.—His execution.—Insurrection in Bohemia.—Loss of the Palatinate.—Negotiations with Spain.—A parliament.—Parties.—Fall of Bacon.—Rapture between King and parliament.—Protestation of the commons.

AT the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined to the Tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England, and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium, under which he laboured. During the thirteen years imprisonment, which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say, injustice of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprizing spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprizes, had surpassed in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most reclusive and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his history of the world. To increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king gave little credit to these mighty promises; both because he believed, that no such mine, as that described, was any where in nature, and because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to re-inflate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, he released him from the Tower; and when his vaunts of the golden mine had engaged multitudes to associate with him, the king gave them permission to try the adventure, and, without doing, conferred on them a valuable grant of land to the adventurers. That he fully collected, he had reason to regret, was proved, when he returned to the Tower, in consequence, when he was attended by a guard and a soldier. For James

Chap. IV. declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's designs; and he intended, he said, to
1618. reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behaviour.

RALEIGH well knew, that it was far from the King's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: He therefore firmly denied, that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coast, where his mine lay. When the ambassador of that nation, the famous Gondomar, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the King; Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions: And James assured Gondomar, that he durst not form any hostile attempt, and that he should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprize. But the minister wisely concluding, that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana.

WHEN the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous heathens, whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: They applied to Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern part of the globe. The more scrupulous protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of *their* title; and if a pyrate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves intitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the antient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner, that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and tho' he had, immediately after, left the coast, he yet pretended, that the English title remained certain and indefeazable. But it had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oroonooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place, Raleigh directly bent his course; and remaining, himself, at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and of captain Keymis, a person intirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young
Raleigh,

Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, *That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other*; and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack, got possession of the town, which they afterwards set on fire; and found not in it any thing of value.

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RALEIGH did not pretend, that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: It was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures. Yet Keymis, who owned, that he was within two hours march of the place, refused, under the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards the finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprize. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

THE other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprizes; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire, for making his peace with England; or if that view failed him, that he proposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

THE small acquisitions, gained by the spoil of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; tho' there were many circumstances in the treaty between the two nations, which invited them to engage in such a pyratrical war against the Spaniards.

WHEN England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards, having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, proceeded, that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the Kingdom of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment, when caught; as they, on the other hand, often met,

and,

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1618.

and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion ; because of the difficulty, which was found, of remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

BUT as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships, and a fleet acting under a royal commission ; Raleigh's companions thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. 'Tis pretended, that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and failing of that, to make his escape into France : But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the King's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. The council found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded ; that he had abused the King in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure ; that he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his Majesty's allies ; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain. He might have been tried either by common law for this violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders : But it was an established principle among those of the long robe, that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To satisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, who raised the loudest complaints against him, the King made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hand, and signed the warrant for his execution upon the former sentence *.

SIR

* SOME of the facts, in this narration, which seem to condemn Raleigh, are taken from the King's declaration, which being published by authority, when the facts were recent, being extracted from examinations before the privy council, and subscribed by six counsellors, among whom was Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate no way complaisant to the court, must be allowed to have great weight, or rather to be of undoubted credit. Yet the most material facts are confirmed either by the nature and reason of the thing, or by Sir Walter's own apology and his letters. The King's vindication is in the *Hudleyan miscellany*, Vol. 3. No. 2.

1. *THAT* seems to be an improbability, that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Raleigh's pretended mine, should have built a town, in so wide a coast within three miles of it. The chances are extremely against such a supposition : And it is more natural to think, that the view of plundering the town led him thither, than that of working a mine. 2. No such mine is there found to this day. 3. Raleigh in fact found no mine, and in fact he plundered and burned a Spanish town. Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was his intention ? How can the secrets of his breast be rendered so visible as to counterpoise certain facts ? 4. He confesses, in his letter to Lord Carew, that the

100

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1618.

October 29.

Raleigh's execution.

eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by strong asseverations of facts, which, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful. With the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. And in his death, there appeared the same great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour.

No

ginary. This was easily done from the Spanish mines; and he seems to have been chiefly displeased at Keymis for not attempting it. Such a view was a premeditated apology to cover his cheat. 15. The King in his declaration imputes it to Raleigh, that as soon as he was at sea, he immediately fell into such uncertain and doubtful talk of his mine, and said, that it would be sufficient if he brought home a basketful of ore. From the circumstance last mentioned, it appears, that this imputation was not without reason. 16. There are many other circumstances of great weight in the King's declaration, that Raleigh, when he fell down to Plymouth, took no pioneers along with him, which he always declared to be his intention; that he was no-way provided of instruments for working a mine, but had a sufficient stock of warlike stores; that young Raleigh, in attacking the Spaniards, employed the words, which, in the narration, I have put into his mouth; that the mine was moveable, and shifted as he saw convenient: Not to mention many other public facts which prove him to be highly criminal against his companions as well as his country. Howel in his letters says, that there lived in London, in 1645, an officer, a man of honour, who asserted, that he heard young Raleigh speak these words. Vol. 2. Letter 63. That was a time, when there was no interest in maintaining such a fact. 17. Raleigh's account of his first voyage to Guiana proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity or most impudent imposture. So ridiculous are the stories which he tells of the Inca's chimerical empire in the midst of Guiana; the rich city of el Dorado, or Manao, two day's journey in length, and shining with gold and silver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favour of the English, who, he says, were expressly named as the deliverers of that country, long before any European had ever touched there; the Amazons or republic of women; and in general, the vast and incredible riches, which he saw on that continent, where no body has yet found any treasures. This whole narration is a proof, that he was extremely defective either in solid understanding, or morals, or both. No man's character indeed seems ever to have been carried to such extremes as Raleigh's, by the opposite passions of envy and pity. In the former part of his life, when he was active and lived in the world, and was probably best known, he was the object of universal hatred and detestation throughout England; in the latter part, when shut up in prison, he became, much more unreasonably, the object of great love and admiration.

As to the circumstances of the narration, that Raleigh's pardon was refused him, that his former sentence was purposely kept in force against him, and that he went out under these express conditions, they may be supported by the following authorities. 1. The King's word and that of six privy counsellors, who affirm it for fact. 2. The nature of the thing. If no suspicion had been entertained of his intentions, a pardon would never have been refused to a man to whom authority was entrusted. 3. The words of the commission itself, where he is simply stiled sir Walter Raleigh, and not *faithful and well beloved*, according to the usual and never failing stile on such occasions. 4. In all the let-

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of governing, in the most important transactions, this monarch, so little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry, the King of Spain had dropped some hints of bestowing on that Prince his eldest daughter, whom he afterwards disposed of to the young King of France, Lewis XIII. At that time, the view of the Spaniards was to engage James into a neutrality with regard to the succession of Cleves, which was disputed between the protestant and popish line: But the bait did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, and Henry IV. of France, marched* 4000 men, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, who joined these two powers, and put the Marquess of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Newbourg, in possession of that dutchy.

GONDOMAR was, at this time, the Spanish ambassador in England; a man whose flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity; whose politics were the more dangerous, because disguised under the masque of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which should attend the Princess. The court of Spain, tho' determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amidst every disappointment, still redoubled his hopes of success. The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became, every day, a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

Insurrections
in Bohemia.

IN that great revolution of manners, which happened during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the only nations, who had the honourable, tho' often melancholy advantage, of making an effort for their expiring privileges, were such as, together with the principles of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Besides the irresistible force of mercenary armies, the European princes possessed this advantage, that they were descended from the ancient royal families; that they continued the same appellations of magistrates, the same appearance of civil government; and restraining themselves by all the forms of legal administration, could insensibly impose the yoke on their unguarded subjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains, and restored liberty to mankind, now lost their own liberty, and saw with grief the absolute authority of their princes firmly established amongst them. In their circumstances, nothing but a pious zeal, which disregards all motives of human prudence, could have made them entertain hopes of preserving any longer those privileges, which their ancestors, thro' so many ages, had transmitted to them.

* 1612.

As the house of Austria, through its ill-limited dominions, had over-chap. IV
1516.made religion the pretence of their usurpations, they now lost with religion a like principle; and the catholic religion, as usual, had received its wound from the sword of monarchy; the protestant, on that of liberty. The states of Bohemia, who had taken arms against the Emperor Mathias, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand, and claimed the observance of all the rights enjoyed in favour of the new religion, together with the restoration of their antient laws and constitution. The neighbouring principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Ladavia, Austria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and throughout all these populous and martial provinces, the spirit of discord and civil war had universally diffused itself.

FERDINAND II. who possessed more vigour and ability, tho' not more lenity and moderation, than are usual with the Austrian princes, strongly armed himself for the recovery of his authority; and besides employing the assistance of his subjects, who professed the antient religion, he engaged on his side a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates. All the catholic princes of the empire had embraced his defence; even Saxony, the most powerful of the protestant; Poland had declared itself in his favour; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy, and from the Low Countries; and he also advanced large sums for the support of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion.

The states of Bohemia, alarmed with these mighty preparations, began also to solicit foreign assistance; and, together with that support, which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavoured to establish connections with greater princes. They cast their eyes on Frederic, Elector of Palatine. They considered, that, besides the power of his own state, which was considerable, he was son-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped, that these princes, moved by the connections of blood, as well as by the ties of true common reason, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Bohemia, and would promote his pretensions. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they considered as elective; and the young Palatine, desirous to be crowned, without consulting either James or Maurice, who were supposed to have a share in the crown, readily accepted the offer, and marched at his request into Bohemia, to accept of the new election.

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1612.

THE news of these events no sooner reached England, than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarce was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former age, flew to rescue the holy land from the dominion of infidels. The nation, at that time, were sincerely attached to the blood of their monarch, and they considered their connection with the Palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate. And, when they heard of catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against protestants, they thought their own interest most deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God, and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel, they would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, have plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treasure of the nation, by maintaining a contest with the whole house of Austria, at the very time, and in the very place, where it was the most potent, and almost irresistible.

BUT James, besides that he had too little enterprize for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence over him. He refused to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign. From the very first he denied to his son-in-law, the title of the King of Bohemia: He forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: And tho' he owned, that he had no wife examined the pretensions, privileges, and constitution of the revolted states; so exalted was his idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded subjects must ever be in the wrong, when they stood in opposition to those, who had acquired or assumed that majestic title. Thus, even in measures, founded on true politics, James intermixed so many narrow prejudices, as lost him all his authority, and exposed him to the imputation of weakness and of error.

1613.

MEAN while, affairs every where hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand levied a mighty force under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Burgundy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the Low Countries, Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thousand men. When Edmonds, the King's resident at Brussels, made remonstrances to the Archduke Albert, he was answered, that his orders for this armament had been transmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the secret intentions of it. Spinola again told the minister, that his orders were still sealed; and that, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full satisfaction. It was more easy to see his intention, than to prevent its success. At about the same time, it was known in England, that Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Stephen

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1620.

attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would scarce be able to surmount them; much less, that that match could in good politics be depended on, as the means of procuring such extraordinary advantages. His unwarlike disposition, increased by age, rivetted him still faster in his errors, and determined him to seek the restoration of his son in law, by remonstrances and entreaties, by arguments and embassies, rather than by blood and violence. And the same defect of courage, which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him likewise afraid of shocking the prejudices of his own subjects, and kept him from openly avowing the measures, which he was determined to pursue. Or perhaps, he hoped to turn these prejudices to account; and, by their means, engage his people to furnish him with supplies, of which their excessive frugality had hitherto made them so sparing and reserved.

A Parliament.

HE first tried the expedient of a benevolence or free-gift from individuals, pretending the urgency of the case, which would not allow leisure for any other measure: But the jealousy of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded these pretended benevolences as real violences, contrary to law and pernicious to freedom, however authorized by antient precedent. A parliament was found to be the only resource, which could furnish any large supplies; and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation.

1621.
16th of June.

THIS parliament is remarkable for being the epoch, in which were first regularly formed, tho' without acquiring these denominations, the parties of COURT and COUNTRY; parties, which have ever since continued, and which, while they often threaten the total dissolution of the government, are the real causes of its permanent life and vigour. In the antient Gothic constitution, of which the English partook with other European nations, there was a mixture, not of authority and liberty, which we have since enjoyed in this island, and which now subsist uniformly together; but of authority and anarchy, which perpetually shocked with each other, and which took place alternately, according as circumstances were more or less favourable to either of them. A parliament, composed of barbarians, summoned from their fields and forests, uninstructed by study, conversation, or travel; ignorant of their own laws and history, and unacquainted with the situation of all foreign nations; a parliament called precariously by the King, and dissolved at his pleasure; sitting a few days, debating a few points prepared for them, and whose members were impatient to return to their own castles, where alone they were great, and to the chase, which was their favourite amusement: Such a parliament was very little fitted to enter into a discussion of all the questions of government, and to share, in a regular manner, the legal administration.

The name, the authority of the king alone appeared, in the common course of government; in extraordinary emergencies, he assumed, with still better reason, the sole direction; the imperfect and unformed laws left, in every thing, a latitude of interpretation; and when the ends, pursued by the monarch, were, in general, agreeable to his subjects, little dispute or jealousy was entertained, with regard to the regularity of the means. During the reign of an able, fortunate, or popular prince, no member of either house, much less of the lower, durst think of entering into a formed party, in opposition to the court; since the dissolution of the parliament must, in a few days, leave him unprotected, to the vengeance of his sovereign, and to those stretches of prerogative, which were then so easily made, in order to pursue an obnoxious object. During an unpopular and weak reign, the current commonly ran so strong against the monarch, that none durst insult themselves in the court-party; or if the prince was able to engage any considerable barons on his side, the question was decided with arms in the field, not by debates or arguments in a senate or assembly. And upon the whole, the chief circumstance, which, during ancient times, retained the prince in any legal form of administration, was, that the sword, by the nature of the feudal tenure, remained still in the hands of his subjects; and this irregular and dangerous check had much more influence than the regular and methodical limits of the laws and constitution. As the nation could not be corrupted, it was requisite, that every public measure of consequence, particularly that of levying new taxes, should seem to be adopted by common consent and approbation.

The princes of the house of Tudor, partly by the vigour of their administration, partly by the concurrence of favourable circumstances, had been able to establish a more regular system of government; but they drew the constitution nearer to despotism, and diminished extremely the authority of the parliament. That senate became, in a great degree, the organ of royal will and pleasure: Opposition would have been construed as a species of rebellion: And even religion, the most dangerous article, to which innovations could be introduced, had submitted, in the course of a few years, to several alterations, from the authority alone of the monarch. The sovereign was not then the lord of law and precedent: The rights of people, of intestine and intestine war were not fixed and unknown: And the sacredness of the sacred authority, and toward the province of making laws and bestowing public money, the monarchs arrogated to themselves, without any express or implied grant from the commons. What was more, was, in order to maintaining the machine of government, the king was obliged to be obliged to himself, to submit. His court was supported and supplied with money by the nation, and the nation's expense. And when extraordinary emergencies occur-

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1621.

Class. IV. red, the prince needed not to solicit votes in parliament, either for the making
 1701. laws or in imposing taxes, both of which were now become requisite for public in-
 tegrity and preservation.

The security of individuals, so necessary to the liberty of popular councils, was totally unknown in that age. And as no despotic princes, scarce even the eastern tyrants, rule intirely without the concurrence of some assemblies, which supply both advice and authority; little, but a mercenary force, seems then to have been wanting towards the establishment of a simple monarchy in England. The militia, tho' more favourable to regal authority, than the feudal institutions, was much inferior, in this respect, to disciplined armies; and if it did not preserve liberty to the people, it preserved, at least, the power, if ever the inclination should arise, of recovering it.

Born so low, at that time, ran the inclination towards liberty, that Elizabeth, the last of that arbitrary line, herself no less arbitrary, was yet the most renowned and most popular of all the sovereigns, who had filled the throne of England. It was natural for James to take the government as he found it, and to pursue her measures, which he heard so much applauded; nor did his penetration extend so far as to discover, that neither his circumstances nor his character could support so extensive an authority. His narrow revenues and little frugality began now to render him dependent on his people, even in the ordinary course of administration: Their increasing knowledge discovered to them that advantage, which they had obtained; and made them sensible of the inestimable value of civil liberty. And as he possessed too little dignity to command respect, and too much good-nature to impress fear, a new spirit discovered itself every day in the parliament; and a party, jealous of a free constitution, were regularly formed in the house of commons.

But notwithstanding these advantages, acquired to liberty; so extensive was royal authority, and so firmly established in all its parts, that 'tis probable the patriots of that age would have despaired of ever resisting it, had they not been stimulated by religious motives, which inspire a courage, unsurmountable by any human obstacle.

The same alliance, which has ever prevailed betwixt kingly power and ecclesiastical authority, was now fully established in England; and while the prince assisted the clergy in suppressing schismatics and innovators, the clergy, in return, increased the doctrine of an unreserved submission and obedience to the civil magistrate. The genius of the church of England, so strongly attached to monarchy, rewarded the contending; its submission to episcopal jurisdiction; its attachment to ceremonies, to order, and to a distant pomp and splendor of worship;

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THE same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with Sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any rivalry in these manufactures: They were armed with authority to search for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own will and discretion, the makers, importers, and venders of such commodities. Many had grievously suffered by this exorbitant jurisdiction; and the lace, which had been manufactured by the patentees, was found universally to be adulterated, and to be composed more of copper than of the precious metals.

THESE grievances the commons represented to the King; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He seemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himself ashamed, that such abuses, unknowingly to him, had crept into his administration. "I assure you," said he, "had I before heard these things complained of, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more, than you now intend to do." A sentence was passed for the punishment of Michel, and Mompeffon. It was executed on the former. The latter broke prison and escaped. Villiers was, at that time, sent purposely on a foreign employment; and his guilt being less enormous or less apparent than that of the others, he was easily protected by the credit of his brother, Buckingham.

Bacon's fall.

ENCOURAGED by this success, the commons carried their scrutiny, and still with a respectful hand, into other abuses of great importance. The seals were, at that time, in the keeping of the celebrated Bacon, created Viscount St. Albans; a man universally admired for the greatness of his genius, and beloved for the courtesyness and humanity of his behaviour. He was the great ornament of his age and nation; and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of human nature itself, but that strength of mind, which might check his intemperate desire of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and restrain his profuse inclination to expence, that could be requisite neither for his honour nor entertainment. His want of oeconomy and his indulgence to servants had involved him in necessities; and, in order to supply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. 'Tis pretended, that, notwithstanding this enormous abuse, he had still, in the seat of justice, preserved the integrity of a judge, and had given just decrees against those very persons, from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints rose the louder on that account, and at last reached the house of commons, who sent up an impeachment against him to the peers.

The

Chap. IV. 1021. their proceedings; and he sent them word, that he was determined, in a very little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The commons made application to the lords, and desired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; which was refused by the upper house. The King regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his measures: He thanked the peers for their refusal to concur in it, and told them, that, if it was their desire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not so far comply with the request of the lower house. And thus, in these great national affairs, the same peevishness, which, in private altercations, often raises a quarrel from the smallest beginnings, produced a mutual coldness and disgust between the King and the commons.

DURING the recess of parliament, the King used every measure to render himself popular with the nation, and to appease the rising ill humor of their representatives. He had voluntarily offered to the parliament to circumscribe his own prerogative, and to abrogate his power of granting all monopolies for the future. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redressed every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-seven, which had ever been complained of in the house of commons. But he gained not the end, which he proposed. The disgust, which had appeared at parting, could not so suddenly be dispelled. He had likewise been so imprudent as to commit to prison Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. Selden, without any known cause, besides their activity and vigour, in discharging their duty as members of parliament. And above all, the transactions in Germany were sufficient, when joined to the King's cautions, negotiations, and delays, to inflame that jealousy of honour and religion, which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer, the ban of the empire was published against the Elector Palatine; and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Bavaria. The upper Palatinate was, in a little time, conquered by that prince, and measures were taking in the empire for bestowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the Palatine was despoiled. Frederic now lived with his numerous family, in poverty and distress, either in Holland, or at Sedan with his uncle the Duke of Bouillon. And throughout all the new conquests, in both the Palatinates as well as in Bohemia, Austria, Lusatia; the progress of the Austrian arms was distinguished by rigours and severities, exercised against the professors of the reformed religion.

14th of Nov. THE zeal of the commons immediately moved them, upon their assembling, to take all these transactions into consideration. They formed a resolution, which they intended to carry to the King. They represented, that the enor-

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1671.

THIS *violent* letter, in which the King, tho' he here imitated former precedents of Elizabeth, may be thought not to have acted altogether on the defensive, had the effect, which might naturally have been expected from it: The commons were enflamed, not terrified. Conscious of their own popularity, and of the bent of the nation towards a war with the catholics abroad, and the persecution of popery at home, they little dreaded the menaces of a prince, who was unsupported by military force, and whose gentle temper would, of itself, so soon disarm his severity. In a new remonstrance, therefore, they still insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and they maintained, tho' in respectful terms, that they were intitled to interpose with their council in all matters of government; that it was their antient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors, to possess intire freedom of speech in their debates of public business; and that, if any member abused this liberty, it belonged to the house alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper censure upon him.

So *vigorous* an answer was no way calculated to appease the King. 'Tis said, when the approach of the committee, who were to present it, was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought: For that there were so many kings a coming. His answer was prompt and sharp. He told the house, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state-affairs, without exception, was such a plenipotence as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever pretended to; that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were intirely unacquainted; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; and that in any business, which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it. And he concluded with these memorable words; *And tho' we cannot allow of your stile, in mentioning your antient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of them grew from precedents, which shew us rather a liberation than inheritance;) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own equal prerogative.*

Thus

* Mr. Hallam, in a letter, published in 1790, is imagined to be rather too distinguished in his expressions, in mentioning numbers and small sections.

i. . .

Chap. IV. The leading members of the house, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips, were committed to the Tower: Selden, Pym, and Mallory to other prisons. As a lighter punishment, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot joined in committal with others, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business. The King, at that time, enjoyed, at least exercised, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his consent, in any branch of public service.

Sir John Saville, a powerful man in the house of commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and soon after, a baron. This event is memorable; as being the first instance, perhaps, in the whole history of England, of any king's advancing a man, on account of parliamentary interest, and of opposition to his measures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reasoners, as one of the most early and most infallible symptoms of a regular established liberty.

THE King having thus, with so rash and indiscreet a hand, torn off that sacred veil, which hitherto covered the English constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it, so advantageous to royal prerogative; every man began to indulge himself in political reasonings and inquiries; and the same faction, which commenced in parliament, were propagated throughout the nation. In vain, did James, by re-iterated proclamations, forbid the discoursing of state affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public. And in every circle or society, the late transactions became the subject of argument and debate.

ALL history, said the partizans of the court, as well as the history of England, justify the King's position with regard to the origin of popular privileges; and every reasonable man must allow, that, as monarchy is the most simple form of government, it must first have occurred to rude and uninstructed mankind. The other complicated and artificial additions were the successive invention of sovereigns, and legislators; or, if they were obtruded on the prince by seditious subjects, their origin must appear, on that account, still more precarious and unfavourable. In England, the authority of the King, in all the exterior forms of government and in the common style of law, appears totally absolute and sovereign: nor does the real spirit of the constitution, as it has ever discovered itself in practice, fall on either short of these appearances. The parliament is created by his will; by his will it is dissolved. 'Tis his will alone, tho' at the desire of both houses, which gives authority to laws. To all foreign nations, the majesty of the monarch seems to attract sole attention and regard. And no subject, who has exposed himself to royal

royal prerogative, can propose to live with safety in the kingdom; nor can he civilise it, a contrary to law, without the consent of parliament. If a magistrate, invested with legislative power and authority, is made to exercise his authority as he pleases, and regarded himself as the uncontrouled dispenser of laws, his prerogatives may bear a very favourable appearance. Yet, when they are met by numerous pious minds, we need not be surpris'd that the more than regal measures, which was pursued by Minors, Norham, and the most illustrious legation of parliament, Richard II., in their rebellious and impious times, be employed by the King of England. Subjects are not raised above that quality, tho' called to parliament. The great lord's respect and deference is still due to their prince. Tho' he is allowed them in the privilege of laying before him their demands, grievances, with which they are supposed to be well acquainted, this warrants not their bold intrusion into each province of government. And, to every judicious examiner, it must appear, "That the
"lines of duty are as much transgressed by a more independent and less respect-
"ful exercise of acknowledged powers, as by the usurpation of such as are new
"and unusual."

The lovers of liberty, throughout the nation, reasoned after a very different manner. 'Tis in vain, said they, that the King traces up the English government to its first origin, in order to represent the privileges of parliament as dependent and precarious: The prescription and practice of so many ages, must, long ere this time, have given a sanction to these assemblies, even tho' they had been derived from an origin not more dignified, than that which he alleges them to be. If the written records of the English nation, as asserted, represent parliament to have arisen from the consent of monarchs; the principles of human nature, when we trace government a step higher, must show us, that monarchs themselves owe all their authority to the voluntary submission of the people. Let it never be forgot, that when the English government was altered, it was carried down to the roots of the pillars of the nation have, or as parliament is called, to the common sense of the people, and not to the force or desire of a prince; the people themselves, tho' they may be said to have supported the government, have not chosen it. The inheritance of the crown, and the election of parliament, are the only principles, on which the government of England is supported, and the only principles, which are consistent with the rights of the people. The government of England is supported by the consent of the people, and the only principles, which are consistent with the rights of the people. The government of England is supported by the consent of the people, and the only principles, which are consistent with the rights of the people.

Chap. IV. fords little occasion, or no occasion, of complaint. However moderate the exercise of his prerogative, however exact his observance of the laws and constitution ;
 1621. “ If he founds his authority on arbitrary and dangerous principles, ’tis requisite
 “ to watch him with equal care, and to oppose him with equal vigour, as if he had
 “ indulged himself in all the excesses of cruelty and tyranny.”

AMIDST all these disputes, the wise and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, an equitable neutrality between the opposite parties; and the more they reflected on the course of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found of fixing just sentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very rise of opposite parties as a happy prognostic of the establishment of liberty ; nor could they ever expect to enjoy, in a mixed government, so invaluable a blessing, without suffering that inconvenience, which, in such governments, has ever attended it. But, when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of so exorbitant a prerogative, that it was not sufficient for liberty to remain on the defensive, or endeavour to secure the little ground, which was left her : It was become requisite to carry on an offensive war, and to circumscribe, within more narrow, as well as more exact bounds, the authority of the sovereign. Upon such provocation, it could not but happen, that the prince, however just and moderate, would endeavour to repress his opponents ; and, as he stood upon the very brink of arbitrary power, it was to be feared, that he would, hastily and unknowingly, pass those limits, which were not precisely marked by the constitution. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating between privilege and prerogative, would afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both sides. In such delicate questions, the people must be divided : The arms of the state were still in their hands : A civil war must ensue ; a civil war, where no party or both parties would justly bear the blame, and where the good and virtuous would scarce know what vows to form, were it not that liberty, so necessary to the perfection of human society, would be sufficient to bias their affections towards the side of its defenders.

C H A P. V.

Negotiations with regard to the marriage and the Palatinate.—Character of Buckingham.—Prince's journey to Spain.—Marriage treaty broken.—A parliament.—Return of Bristol.—Rupture with Spain.—Treaty with France.—Mansfeldt's expedition.—Death of the King.—His character.

TO wrest the Palatinate from the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, must always have been regarded as a very difficult task for the power of England, conducted by such an unwarlike prince as James: It was plainly impossible, while the breach continued between him and the commons. The King's negotiations, therefore, had they been managed with ever so great dexterity, must now carry less weight with them; and it was easy to elude all his applications. When Lord Digby, his ambassador to the Emperor, had desired a cessation of hostilities, he was remitted to the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies. The Duke of Bavaria told him, that it was entirely superfluous to form any treaty for that purpose. *Hostilities are already ceased, said he; and I doubt not but I shall be able to prevent their revival, by keeping firm possession of the Palatinate, till a final agreement shall be concluded between the contending parties.* Notwithstanding this insult, James endeavoured to resume with the Emperor a treaty of accommodation; and he opened the negotiations at Brussels, under the mediation of the Archduke Albert, and, after his death, which happened about this time, under that of the Infanta: When the conferences were entered upon, it was found, that the powers of these princes to determine in the controversy, were not sufficient or satisfactory. Schwartzembourg, the imperial minister, was expected at London; and it was hoped, that he would bring more ample authority: His commission referred entirely to the negotiation at Brussels. It was not difficult for the King to perceive, that his applications were purposely eluded by the Emperor; but as he had no choice of any other expedient, and it seemed the interest of his son-in-law to keep alive his pretensions, he was still contented to follow Ferdinand thro' all his shifts and evasions. Nor was he entirely discouraged, even when the imperial diet at Ratisbon, by the influence, or rather authority of the Emperor, tho' contrary to the protestation of Saxony and all the reformed,

Negotiations with regard to the marriage and the Palatinate.

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 1622. varia.

MEAN while, the efforts made by Frederic for the recovery of his dominions were vigorous. Three armies were levied in Germany by his authority, under three commanders, Duke Christian of Brunswick, the Prince of Baden-Dourlach, and Count Mansfeldt. The two former generals were defeated by Count Tilly and the Imperialists: The third, tho' much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war; but with no great supplies of money either from the Palatine or the King of England. It was chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate, that he subsisted his army. As the Austrians were regularly paid, they were kept in more exact discipline; and James became justly apprehensive, lest so unequal a contest, besides ravaging the Palatine's hereditary dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people from their antient sovereign, by whom they were plundered, and in an attachment to their new masters, by whom they were protected. He therefore wisely persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the Emperor: And accordingly, Mansfeldt was dismissed from the Palatine's service; and that famous general withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there received a commission from the states of the United Provinces.

To shew how little account was made of James's negotiations abroad, there is a pleasantry which is mentioned by all historians, and which, for that reason, shall have place here. In a farce, acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news, that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the house of Austria; so powerful were the succours, which, from all quarters, were hastening to the relief of the despoiled Elector: The King of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his assistance a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the King of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. On other occasions, he was painted with a scabbard, but without a sword; or with a sword, which no body could draw, tho' several were pulling at it.

It was not from his negotiations with the Emperor or the Duke of Bavaria, that James expected any success in his project of restoring the Palatine: His eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; and if he could effectuate his son's marriage with the Infanta, he doubted not, after so intimate a conjunction, but that this other point could easily be obtained. The negotiations of that court being naturally dilatory, it was not easy for a prince of so little penetration in business, to distinguish whether the difficulties, which occurred, were real or affected; and he was surprized, after negotiating five years on so simple a demand, that he was not more advanced than at the beginning. The dispensation of Rome was
 requisite

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gratulate the King on the entire completion of all his views and projects. A daughter of Spain, whom he represents as extremely accomplished, would soon, he said, arrive in England, and bring with her an immense fortune of two millions*, a sum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princess. But what was of more importance to the King's honour and happiness, Bristol considered this match as an infallible prognostic of the Palatine's restoration; nor would Philip, he thought, ever have bestowed his sister and so large a fortune, under the prospect of entering, next day, into a war with England. So exact was his intelligence, that the most secret councils of the Spaniards, he boasts, had never escaped him; and he found that they had, all along, considered the marriage of the Infanta and the restitution of the Palatinate as measures closely connected, or altogether inseparable. However little calculated James's character to extort so vast a concession; however improper the measures which he had pursued for obtaining that end; the ambassador could not withstand the plain evidence of facts, by which Philip now demonstrated his sincerity. Perhaps too, like a wise man, he considered, that reasons of state, which are supposed solely to influence the councils of monarchs, are not always the motives which there predominate; that the milder views of gratitude, honour, friendship, generosity, are frequently able, among princes as well as private persons, to counterbalance these selfish considerations; that the justice and moderation of James had been so conspicuous in all these transactions, his reliance on Spain, his confidence in her friendship, that he had, at last, obtained the cordial alliance of that nation, so celebrated for honour and fidelity. Or if politics must still be supposed the ruling motive of all public measures, the maritime power of England was so great, the Spanish dominions so divided, as might well induce the council of Philip to think, that a sincere friendship with the masters of the sea could not be purchased by too many concessions. And as James, during so many years, had been allured and seduced by hopes and protestations, his people enraged by delays and disappointments; it would probably occur, that there was now no medium left between the most inveterate hatred and the most intimate alliance betwixt the nations. Not to mention, that, as a new spirit began about this time to animate the councils of France, the friendship of England became every day more necessary to the greatness and security of the Spanish monarchy.

ALL measures being, therefore, agreed between the parties, nought was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a mere formality. The King, justified by success, now exulted in his pacific councils, and boasted of his

* It appears by Buckingham's narrative, that these two millions were of pieces of eight, and made two millions pounds sterling: A very great sum, and almost equal to all the sums which the parliament during the whole course of this reign, had hitherto bestowed on the King.

his superior sagacity and penetration; when all these flattering prospects were blasted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from a private condition to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people.

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EVER since the fall of Somerset, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontrolled sway, both the court and nation; and could James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of observing how unfit his favourite was for the high station to which he was raised. Some accomplishments of a courtier he possessed: Of every talent of a minister he was utterly devoid. He was strong in his passions, and incapable equally of prudence and of dissimulation: Sincere from violence rather than candor; expensive from profusion more than generosity: A warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or discernment in either: With these qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the highest rank, and partook at once of the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition.

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Character of
Buckingham.

AMONG those, who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite, the Prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not an enmity, had, for that reason, taken place between them. Buckingham, desirous of an opportunity, which might connect him with the Prince and overcome his aversion, and at the same time envious of the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation, bethought himself of an expedient, by which he might, at once, gratify both these inclinations. He represented to Charles, That persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumstance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to whom they were unknown; not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by services; wooed by treaties alone, by negotiations, by political interests: That however accomplished the Infanta, she must still consider herself as a melancholy victim of state, and could not but think with aversion of that day when she was to enter the bed of a stranger; and passing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's house and to her native land: That it was in the Prince's power to soften all these rigours, and lay such an obligation on her, as would attach the most indifferent temper, as would warm the coldest affections: That his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fiction of Spanish romance, and suiting the amorous and enterprising character of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the Princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: That the negotiations with regard

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to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be conducted by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and intercession of the grateful Infanta: That the Spanish generosity, moved by that unexampled trust and confidence, would make concessions beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations: And that he would quickly return to the King with the glory of having re-established the unhappy Palatinate, by the same enterprize, which procured him the affections and the person of the Spanish Princess.

This mind of the young Prince, replete with candor, was inflamed by these generous and romantic ideas. He agreed to make application to the King for his approbation. They chose the moment of his kindest and most jovial humour; and more by the earnestness which they expressed, than by the force of their reasons, they obtained a hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking. And having engaged his promise to keep their purpose secret, they left him, in order to make preparations for their journey.

No sooner was the King alone, than his temper, more timorous than sanguine, suggested very different views of the matter, and represented every difficulty and danger which could occur. He reflected, that, however the world might pardon this folly of youth in the Prince, they would never forgive himself, who, at his years, and after his experience, could entrust his only son, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the discretion of foreigners, without so much as providing the frail security of a safe conduct in his favour: That, if the Spanish monarch was sincere in his professions, a few months must finish the treaty of marriage, and bring the Infanta into England; if he was not sincere, the folly was still more egregious of committing the Prince into his hands: That Philip, when possessed of so invaluable a pledge, might well rise in his demands, and impose harder conditions of treaty: And that the temerity of this enterprize was so apparent, that the event, however prosperous, could never justify it; and if disastrous, it would render himself infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all posterity.

CONSIDERING with these reflections, so soon as the Prince and Buckingham returned for their dispatches, he informed them of all the reasons which had determined him to change his resolution; and he begged them to desist from so foolish an adventure. The Prince received the disappointment with sorrowful submission and firm tears: Buckingham presumed to speak in an imperious tone, which he had ever experienced to be prevalent over his too easy master. He told him, that nobody, for the future, would believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise, so solemnly given; that he plainly discerned this change of resolution to proceed from another breach of his word, in communicating the mat-

ter to some raider, who had furnished him with that gold money, which he had alleg'd, and he don't tell it but he thought he had better know what had been; and that if he reced'd from what he had promised, it would be such a dis-obligation to the Prince, who had now set his heart upon the journey, after his Ma-jesty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cause of it.

The King with great earnestness, fortified by many oaths, made his apology, by saying, that he had communicated the matter to any man; and finding himself assailed, as well by the boisterous importunities of Buckingham, as by the warm entreaties of his son, whose applications had hitherto, on other occasions, been always dutiful, never earnest; he had again the weakness to assent to their proposed journey. It was agreed, that Sir Francis Cottington alone, the Prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, should accompany them; and the former being at that time in the anti-chamber, he was immediately called in by the King's order.

James told Cottington, that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. “Cottington, added he, here is baby Charles and Stenny” (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the Prince and Buckingham) “who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the Infanta: They will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?” Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the King’s agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprize, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed, and cried, *Dieu et mon droit*; and fell into new passion and lamentation, complaining that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles.

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Chap. V. *more, than I told you before he was called in.* However, after all this passion on
1623. both sides, James renewed his consent ; and proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he now at any loss to discover, that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as pursued violently by his spirit and impetuosity.

THESE circumstances, which so well characterize the persons, seem to have been related by Cottington to Lord Clarendon, from whom they are here transcribed ; and tho' minute, are not undeserving of a place in history.

7th of March. THE Prince and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and Sir Richard Graham, master of horse to Buckingham, passed disguised and undiscovered thro' France ; and they even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was, at that time, in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid ; and surprized every body by a step so little usual among great princes. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. By the most studied civilities, he showed the respect, which he bore his royal guest. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the Prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours : He took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles ; for there, he said, the Prince was at home : Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony which attend the kings of Spain on their coronation : The council received public orders to obey him as the King himself : All the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the event, the most honourable and most fortunate, had happened to the monarchy : And every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during his residence in Spain. The Infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public ; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow of any more intercourse, till the arrival of the dispensation.

THE point of honour was carried so far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage, which they had acquired, of imposing any harder conditions of treaty : Their pious zeal only prompted them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles ; but, on the opposition of Bristol, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. The Pope, however, hearing of the Prince's arrival in Madrid, tacked some new clauses to the dispensation ; and it became requisite to transmit the articles to London, that the King might there ratify them. This treaty, which was made
public,

The Prince's
journey to
Spain.

public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the catholic religion by the Infanta and her family. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, where the King promised, that the children should be educated by the Prince's, till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of fraiming their minds with catholic prejudices; and tho' so tender an age seemed little susceptible of theological tenets, yet the same reason, which made the Pope infer that a title, should have induced the King to resign it.

Besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the King; where he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses. Great murmurs, we may believe, would have arisen against these articles, had they been made known to the public; since we find it to have been imputed as an enormous crime to the Prince, that, having received, about this time, a very civil letter from the Pope, he was induced to return a very civil answer*.

MEAN while Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died; and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, till it should be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed the sending a new dispensation, in hopes, that, during the Prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to operate his conversion. The King of England, as well as the Prince, became impatient. On the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect, which had attended his arrival. He even erected a pillar, on the spot where they separated, as a monument of mutual friendship; and the Prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

The character of Charles, composed of decency, reserve, modesty, sobriety; virtues so suitable to the manners of the Spaniards; the unparalleled confidence, which he had reposed in their nation; the romantic gallantry, which he had practised towards their princess; all these circumstances, joined to his youth and agreeable figure, had endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and had impressed the most favourable ideas of him. But, in the same proportion, that the Prince was beloved and esteemed, was Buckingham despised and hated. His behaviour, composed of English familiarity and French vivacity; his flames of passion, his indecent freedoms with the Prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could, nor cared to disguise; qualities like these, could, most of them, be esteemed no where, but to the Spaniards were the objects of pe-

* Ralston, Vol. I. p. 100.

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culiar aversion. They could not conceal their surprize, that such a youth could intrude into a negotiation, now conducted to a period, by so accomplished a minister as Bristol, and could assume to himself all the merit of it. They lamented the Infanta's fate, who must be approached by a man, whose tenderness seemed to respect no laws, divine or human. And when they observed, that he had the imprudence to insult the Condé Duke of Olivarez, their prime minister; every one, who was ambitious of paying court to the Spanish, became desirous of showing a contempt for the English favourite.

THE Duke of Buckingham told Olivarez, that his own attachment to the Spanish nation and to the King of Spain was extreme; that he would contribute to every measure, which would cement the friendship between England and them; and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the Prince's marriage with the Infanta. But, he added, with a sincerity, equally insolent and indiscreet, *With regard to you, Sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your friend, but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and opposition.* The Condé Duke replied, with a becoming dignity, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him: And on these terms the favourites parted.

BUCKINGHAM, sensible how odious he was become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence, which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the Infanta, resolved to employ all his credit, in order to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could engage the Prince to offer such an insult to the Spanish nation, from whom he had met with such generous treatment; by what colours he could disguise the ingratitude, and imprudence of such a measure; these are totally unknown to us. It only appears, that his impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total ascendant over the gentle and modest temper of Charles; and, when the Prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

It is not likely, that Buckingham prevailed so easily with James to abandon a project, which, during so many years, had been the object of all his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period. A rupture with Spain, the loss of two millions, were prospects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch: But finding his only son bent against a match, which had always been opposed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to difficulties, which he had not courage nor strength of mind sufficient to resist. The Prince, therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, assumed intirely the direction of the negotiation; and it was their business to seek for pretences by which they could give a colour to their intended violation of treaty.

THO' the restitution of the Palatinate had never been confided to James as a natural or necessary consequence of the marriage, it was always forbid his ministers to insist on it as a preliminary article to the conclusion of the marriage-treaty. He considered, that that principle was now entirely in the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; and that it was not proper in the King of Spain's power, by a single stroke of his pen, to restore it to the ancient proprietor. The strict alliance of Spain with these princes would engage Philip, he thought, to soften to an agreeable demand by every art of negotiation; and many articles, useful, or necessary, be adjusted before such an important point could be effectuated. It was sufficient, in James's opinion, if the Spaniards' sincerity could, for the present, be ascertained; and, dreading farther delays of the marriage, so long withheld, he was resolved to trust the Palatine's full restitution to the event of future councils and deliberations.

THIS whole system of politics, Buckingham now reversed; and he overturned every supposition, upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. Beffol received orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, nor to finish the marriage, till the full restitution of the Palatinate. Philip understood this language. He had been acquainted with the disgust received by Buckingham, and deeming him a man, capable of sacrificing, to his own ungovernable passion, the greatest interests of his master and of his country, he had expected that the unbounded credit of that favourite would be employed to embroil the two nations. Intended, however, to throw the blame of the rupture intirely on the English, he delivered into Beffol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restitution of the Palatine, either by persuasion, or by every other possible means; and, when he found that that concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, and to drop her style of the English language. And thinking that such rash counsels now governed the court of his friend would not stop at the breach of treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions.

BUT James, having, by means, inexplicable from all the rules of politics, concluded, for an arch honourable end, the marriage of his son and the restitution of the Palatine, that at last of his purpose, by means equally unaccountable,

But, that the expedients, already used by Buckingham, were sufficiently injurious to his honour and to the nation; it was requisite, so he could only justify his purpose, to employ artifices still more than usual and dishonourable.

THE King, having heard that Spain was obliged to concert new measures; and, that all other business, no effectual stop of any kind could be taken.

THE

Chap. V. The benevolence, which, during the interval, had been rigorously exacted for the
 1624. recovery of the Palatinate, tho' levied for so popular an end, had procured the
 A parliament. King less money than ill-will from his subjects *. Whatever discouragements,
 therefore, he might receive from his bad agreement with former parliaments, there
 19th of Feb. was a necessity of summoning once more this assembly; and, it might be hoped,
 that the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the com-
 mons would now be better satisfied with the King's administration. In his speech
 to the houses, James dropped some hints of the causes of complaint which he had
 against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the parliament's advice, which
 he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair
 as his son's marriage. Buckingham delivered, to a committee of lords and com-
 mons, a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and compleat, of every step
 taken in the negotiations with Philip: But partly by the suppression of some facts,
 partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated intirely to
 mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of arti-
 fice and insincerity. He said, that, after many years negotiation, the King found
 not himself any nearer his purpose; and that Bristol had never brought the treaty
 beyond general professions and declarations: That the Prince, doubting the good
 intentions of Spain, resolved at last to take a journey to Madrid, and put the mat-
 ter to the utmost trial: That he there found such artificial dealing as made him
 conclude all the steps taken towards the marriage to be false and deceitful: That
 the restitution of the Palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the King as an
 essential preliminary, was not seriously intended by Spain: And that, after endur-
 ing much ill-usage, the Prince was obliged to return to England, without any
 hopes, either of obtaining the Infanta, or of restoring the Elector Palatine.

THIS narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the
 solemnity of that assembly, to which it was delivered, deserves great blame, was
 yet vouched for truth by the Prince of Wales, who was present; and the King
 himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament, that it
 was by his order Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. The conduct
 of these princes it is difficult fully to excuse. 'Tis in vain to plead the youth
 and inexperience of Charles; unless his inexperience and youth, as is proba-
 ble,

* To show by what violent measures this benevolence was raised, Johnstone tells us, in his *Rerum Britanncarum hystoria*, that Barnes, a citizen of London, was the first who refused to contribute any thing; upon which, the treasurer sent him word, that he must immediately prepare himself to carry by post a dispatch into Ireland. The citizen was glad to make his peace by paying a hundred pounds; and no one durst afterwards refuse the benevolence required.

ble *, if not certain, really led him into error, and made him swallow all the fallacies of Buckingham. And, tho' the King was here hurried from his own measures by the impetuosity of others; nothing should have induced him to prostitute his character, and vouch the impostures, at least, false colourings, of his favourite, of which he had so good reason to entertain a suspicion.

BUCKINGHAM's narrative, however artificially disguised, contained yet so many contradictory circumstances as were sufficient to open the eyes of all reasonable men; but it concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament, that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it. Charmed with having obtained at last the opportunity, so long wished for, of going to war with papists, they little thought of future consequences; but immediately advised the King to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the Palatinate. The people, ever greedy of war, till they suffer by it, displayed their triumph at these violent measures by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by insults on the Spanish ministers. Buckingham was now the favourite of the public and of the parliament. Sir Edward Coke, in the house of commons, called him the Saviour of the nation. Every place resounded with his praises. And he himself, intoxicated by a popularity, which he enjoyed so little time, and which he so little deserved, violated all duty to his indulgent master, and entered into cabals with the puritan members, who had ever opposed the royal authority. He even encouraged schemes for abolishing the order of bishops, and selling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expences of a Spanish war. And the King, tho' he still entertained projects for temporizing, and for forming an accommodation with Spain, was so borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and increased by Buckingham, that he was at last obliged, in a speech to parliament, to declare in favour of hostile measures, if they would engage to support him. Doubts of their sincerity in this respect; doubts which the event showed not to be ill grounded; had probably been one cause of his former pacific and dilatory measures.

IN

* The moment the Prince embarked at St. Andero's, he said, to those about him, that he was sorry in the Spaniards to use him so ill, and allow him to depart. A proof that the Duke had made him believe they were sincere in the affair of the marriage and the Palatinate. For, as to his reception in other respects, it had been altogether unexceptionable: Beside, had not the Prince believed the Spaniards to be sincere, he had no reason to quarrel with them; the Parliament had not imposed disorders, that Charles himself must have been deceived. The supposed delay of Lord Albemarle, tho' they arose from accident, affording Buckingham a plausible pretext for charging the Spaniards with reflecting.

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IN his speech on this occasion, the King began with lamenting his misfortune, that, having so long valued himself on the epithet of the pacific monarch, he should now, in his old age, be obliged to exchange the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He represented to them the immense and continued expence, requisite for military armaments; and besides supplies, from time to time, as they should become necessary, he demanded a vote of six subsidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper stock before the commencement of hostilities. He told them of his intolerable debts and burthens, chiefly contracted by the sums remitted to the Palatine*; but he added, that he did not insist on any supply for his own relief, and that it was sufficient for him, if the honour and security of the public were provided for. To remove all suspicion, he, who had ever strenuously maintained his prerogative, and even extended it into some doubtful points, now made a most imprudent concession, of which the consequences might have proved fatal to royal authority: He voluntarily offered, that the money voted should be paid into a committee of parliament, and should be issued by them, without being intrusted to his management. The commons willingly accepted of this concession, so unprecedented in an English monarch; they voted him only three subsidies and three fifteenths†; and they took no notice of the complaints, which he made of his own wants and necessities.

ADVANTAGE was also taken of the present good agreement between the King and parliament, in order to pass the bill against monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the King, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the last house of commons. This bill was conceived in such terms as to render it merely declarative; and all monopolies were condemned, as contrary to law and to the known liberties of the people. It was there supposed, that every subject of England had intire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow subjects; and that no prerogative of the King, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom. The full prosecution of this noble principle into
all

* Among other particulars, he mentions a sum of 80,000 pounds borrowed from the King of Denmark. But what is more extraordinary, the treasurer, in order to show his own good services, told to the parliament, that, by his contrivance, 60,000 pounds had been saved on the head of exchange in the sums remitted to the Palatinate. This seems very extraordinary, nor is it conceivable, unless the King could procure such vast sums as would require a sum so great to be paid in exchange. From the whole, however, it appears, that the King had been far from neglecting the interests of his daughter and son-in-law.

† Less than 300,000 pounds.

all its necessary consequences, has, at last, thro' many contests, produced that singular and happy government, which at present we enjoy *. Chap. V:
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THE house of commons also corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which, two years before, they had exercised, in the case of Chancellor Bacon, and which had lain dormant for more than a century before, except when they served as instruments of royal vengeance. The Earl of Middlesex had been raised by Buckingham's interest, from the rank of a London merchant, to be Lord high treasurer of England; and, by his activity and address, seemed not unworthy of that preferment. But, having incurred the displeasure of his patron, by scrupling or refusing some demands of money, during the Prince's residence in Spain, that favourite vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The King was extremely dissatisfied with this measure, and prophesied to the Prince and Duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions. In a speech to the parliament, he endeavoured to apologize for Middlesex, and to soften the accusation against him. The charge, however, was still maintained by the commons; and the treasurer was found guilty by the peers, tho' the misdemeanors proved against him, were neither numerous nor important. The accepting two presents, of five hundred pounds a-piece, for the passing two patents, was the article of greatest weight. His sentence was, to be fined 50,000 pounds for the King's use, and to suffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon. The fine was afterwards remitted by the Prince, when he mounted the throne.

THIS session, an address was also made, very disagreeable to the King, craving the severe execution of the laws against catholics. His answer was gracious and condescending; tho' he declared against persecution; as being an improper measure.

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* How little this principle had prevailed, during any former period of the English government, particularly during the last reign, which was certainly not so perfect a model of liberty as some writers would represent it, will easily appear from many passages in the history of that reign. But the ideas of men were much changed, during about twenty years of a gentle and peaceful administration. The commons, tho' James, of himself, had recalled all patents of monopolies, were not contented without abolishing them, and a declaratory law too; which was gaining a great point, and establishing principles very favorable to liberty. That they were extremely grateful, when Elizabeth, upon petition, (after having once refused their request,) recalled a few of the most oppressive patents; and employed some soothing expressions toward them.

THE parliament had surely reason, when they confessed, in the seventh of James, that he allowed them more freedom of debate, than ever was indulged by any of his predecessors. His indulgence in this particular, joined to his easy temper, was probably one cause of the great power assumed by the commons. Monsieur de la Boderie in his *Discourses*, Vol. ii. p. 419, mentions the liberty of speech in the house of commons as a new practice.

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4th of May.

sure for the suppression of any religion; according to the received maxim, *That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church*. He also condemned an intire indulgence of the catholics; and seemed to represent a middle course, as the most humane and most politic. He went so far as even to affirm, with an oath, that he never had entertained any thought of granting a toleration to these religionists. Perhaps, the liberty of exercising their religion in private houses, which he had secretly agreed to in the Spanish treaty, he did not esteem deserving that name; and it was probably by means of this evasion, he imagined, tho' falsely, that he had saved his honour. After all these transactions, the parliament was prorogued by the King, who let fall some hints, tho' in gentle terms, of the sense, which he entertained, of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities.

JAMES, unable to resist so strong a combination as that of his people, his parliament, his son, and his favourite, had been compelled to embrace measures, for which, from temper as well as judgment, he had ever entertained a most settled aversion. Tho' he dissembled his resentment, he began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all those violent councils, and whom he considered as the author, both of the Prince's journey into Spain, and of the breach of the marriage-treaty. The arrival of Bristol, he impatiently longed for; and it was by the assistance of that minister, whose wisdom he respected, and whose views he approved, that he hoped, in time, to extricate himself from his present difficulties.

Return of
Bristol.

DURING the Prince's abode in Spain, that able negotiator had ever opposed, tho' unsuccessfully, to the impetuous measures, suggested by Buckingham, his own wise and well-tempered councils. After Charles's departure, upon the first appearance of a change of resolution, he still interposed his advice, and strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages, which England must reap from the completion of it. Enraged to find, that his successful and skilful labours should be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion, he would understand no hints; and nothing but express orders from his master could engage him to make that demand, which, he was sensible, would put a final period to the treaty. He was not, therefore, surprized to hear, that Buckingham had declared himself his open enemy, and both before the council and parliament, had thrown out many scandalous reflections against him. Upon the first order, he prepared for leaving Madrid; and he was conducted to the King of Spain and the Condé Duke, in order to fulfil the ceremonial of his departure.

PHILIP, by the mouth of his minister, expressed much regret, that Bristol's services should meet with so unworthy a reward, and that his enemies should so

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far have prevailed as to infuse prejudices in to his master and his country against a minister, who had so faithfully done his duty to both. He entreated him to fix his abode in Spain, rather than expose himself to the inveterate malice of his rival and the ungovernable fury of the people. He offered him every advantage of rank and fortune, to soften the rigors of banishment; and, lest his honour should suffer by the desertion of his native country, the monarch promised to confer all these advantages, with a public declaration, that they were bestowed merely for his fidelity to the trust committed to him. And he added, that he esteemed such a conduct of importance to his own service; that all his ministers, observing his regard to virtue even in a stranger, might be the more animated to exert their fidelity towards so generous a master.

THE Earl of Bristol, while he expressed the utmost gratitude for this princely offer, thought himself obliged to decline the acceptance of it. He said, that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than his remaining at Madrid, and his receiving honour and preferment from his catholic Majesty; that the highest dignity of the Spanish monarchy, however valued, would be but an unequal compensation for the loss of his honour, which he must sacrifice to the obtaining it; that he trusted to his own innocence for protection against all the fury of popular prejudice; and that his master was so just and gracious, that, however he might, for a time, be seduced by calumny, he would surely afford him an opportunity of defending himself, and would in the end restore him to his favour and good opinion.

So magnanimous an answer increased the esteem which Philip had conceived of the ambassador. That prince begged him, at least, to accept of a present of 10,000 ducats, which might be requisite for his support, till he could dissipate the prejudices contracted against him; and he promised, that this compliance should for ever remain a secret to all the world, and should never come to the knowledge of his master. *There is one person,* replied the generous Englishman, *who may necessarily know it: He is the Earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the King of England.*

NOTHING could be of greater consequence to Buckingham, than to keep Bristol at a distance both from the King and the parliament; lest the power of truth, enforced by so powerful a speaker, should open scenes, which were but suspected by the former, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealousy. He applied therefore to James, whose weakness, disguised to himself under the appearance of finesse and dissimulation, was now become absolutely incurable. A warrant for sending Bristol to the Tower was issued immediately

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upon his arrival in England; and tho' he was soon released from that confinement, yet orders were carried him from the King, to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance on parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. On all occasions, he protested his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miscarriage. Buckingham, and, at his instigation, the Prince, declared, that they would be reconciled to Bristol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct: But the spirited Nobleman, jealous of his honour, refused to buy favour at so high a price. James had the equity to say, that the insisting on that condition was a strain of unexampled tyranny: But Buckingham scrupled not to assert, with the utmost presumption, that neither the King, the Prince, nor himself were, as yet, satisfied of Bristol's innocence.

WHILE the attachment of the Prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the shame of changing his favourite, kept the whole court in awe; the Spanish ambassador, Inoiosa, endeavoured to open the King's eyes, and to cure his fears by instilling greater fears into him. He privately slipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a signal to read it alone. He there told him, that he was as much a prisoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the Prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals among the popular leaders in parliament were carrying on to the extreme prejudice of his authority; that the project was to confine him to some of his hunting seats, and to commit the whole administration of affairs to the management of Charles; and that it was requisite for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his liberty, and to punish those who had so long and so much abused his goodness and facility.

Rapture with
Spain.

WHAT credit James gave to this representation does not appear. He only discovered some faint symptoms, which he instantly retracted, of dissatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public measures, and all the alliances, into which he entered, were founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the Palatinate.

THE states of the United Provinces, at this time, were governed by Maurice; and that aspiring prince, sensible that his credit would languish during peace, had, on the expiration of the twelve years truce, renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. His great capacity in the military art would have compensated for the inferiority of his forces, had not the Spanish armies been commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterprize and activity. In such a situation, nothing could be more welcome to the republic than

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the prospect of a rupture between James and the catholic King; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests between them and England, as from the influence of the present conjuncture, that powerful succours would soon march to their relief. Accordingly, an army of six thousand men was levied in England, and sent over into Holland, commanded by four young Noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Northampton, and Willoughby, who were animated by distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under to them, such a captain as Maurice.

It might reasonably have been expected, that, as religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of such vast importance in England; the same effect must have been produced in France, by the force merely of political views and considerations. While that principality remained in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of one or the other branch of that ambitious family; and might be invaded by superior forces from every quarter. It constrained the King of France therefore to prevent the peaceable establishment of the Emperor in his new conquests; and both by the situation and greater power of his state, he was better enabled than James to give succour to the distressed Palatine. But tho' the views pleased not Louis, nor Cardinal Richelieu, who now began to acquire an ascendant in the French court; that minister was determined to pave the way for his enterprizes by first subduing the Hugonots, and thence to proceed, by means of councils, to humble the house of Austria. The prospect, however, of a conjunction with England was presently embraced, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every proposal for conciliating a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta.

Notwithstanding the sensible experience, which James might have acquired, or the unformountable antipathy entertained by his subjects against all alliance with catholics, he still persevered in the opinion, that his son would be degraded, by receiving into his bed a prince of less than royal extraction. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France; and to that court he immediately applied himself. The same allurements had not here place, which had so long entangled him in the Spanish negotiation. The port of Spain was much inferior; and the peaceable restoration of the Palatine could not then be expected. But James was afraid, lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and therefore, as soon as the christian King, desirous for the honour of his crown, the same terms which had been granted to the catholic, he was prevailed with to comply. And as the Prince, during his absence in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the Infanta the education of

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her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty ; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the present distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions, granted to the catholics, were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the Pope, and that their strict execution, by an agreement with France, was secretly dispensed with*.

As much as the conclusion of the marriage treaty was acceptable to the King, as much were all the military enterprizes disagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, in which he was engaged, and from his own incapacity for such a scene of action.

DURING the Spanish negotiation, Heidelberg and Manheim had been taken by the imperial forces ; and Frankendale, tho' the garrison was entirely English, was closely besieged by them. Upon re-iterated remonstrances from James, Spain interposed, and procured a suspension of arms during eighteen months. But as Frankendale was the only place of Frederic's antient dominions, which continued in his hands, Ferdinand, being desirous of withdrawing his forces from the Palatinate, and of leaving that state in security, was unwilling, that so important a fortress should remain in the possession of the enemy. To compound all differences, it was agreed to sequestrate it in the Infanta's hands as a neutral person ; upon condition, that, after the expiration of the truce, it should be delivered to Frederic ; tho' peace should not, at that time, be concluded between him and Ferdinand. After the unexpected rupture with Spain, the Infanta, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, offered him peaceable possession of Frankendale, and even promised a safe conduct for the garrison thro' the Spanish Netherlands : But there was some territory of the empire interposed between her state and the Palatinate ; and for passage over that territory, no terms were stipulated. By this chicane, which certainly had not been employed, if amity with Spain had been preserved, the Palatine was totally dispossessed of all his patrimonial dominions.

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* Rymer, tom. xviii. p. 224. 'Tis certain, that the young Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. had protestant governors from his early infancy ; first the Earl of Newcastle, then the Marquis of Hertford. The King, in his memorial to foreign churches after the commencement of the civil wars, insists on his care in educating his children in the protestant religion, as a proof that he was no way inclined to the catholic. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 752. It can scarce, therefore, be questioned, but this article, which has so odd an appearance, was inserted only to amuse the Pope, and was never intended by either party to be executed.

THE English nation, however, and James's warlike council, were not discouraged. It was first determined to re-conquer the Palatinate, a state lying in the midst of Germany, possessed entirely by the Emperor and Bavaria, surrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay; and an English army of 12,000 foot and 200 horse was levied by a general press throughout the kingdom. During the negotiation with France, vast promises had been made, tho' in general terms, by the French ministry; not only, that a free passage should be granted the English troops, but also that powerful succours should join them in their march towards the Palatinate. In England, all these professions were hastily interpreted to be positive engagements. The troops, under Mansfeldt's command, were embarked at Dover; but upon sailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand; where no proper measures were yet concerted for their disembarkation; and some scruples arose among the states on account of the scarcity of provisions. Mean while, a pestilential distemper crept in among the English forces, so long cramped up in narrow vessels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate. And thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition; the only disaster, which happened to England, during the prosperous and pacific reign of James.

THYR reign was now drawing towards a conclusion. With peace, so successfully cultivated, and so passionately loved by this monarch, his life also terminated. This spring, he was seized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that this distemper, during that season, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the Prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preserve a constancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the Palatine. With decency and courage, he prepared himself for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty two years and a few days; and in the fifty ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life.

No prince, so little enterprizing and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. And the factions, which began in his time, being still continued, have made his character be as much disputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our

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contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it must be owned, he was possessed of; but no one of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. While he imagined, that he was only maintaining his own authority, he may perhaps be suspected, in some of his actions, and still more of his pretensions, to have encroached on the liberties of his people: While he endeavoured, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good will of all his neighbours, he was able to preserve fully the esteem and regard of none. His capacity was considerable; but fitter to discourse on general maxims than to conduct any intricate business: His intentions were just; but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms. Aukward in his person, and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than of a frail judgment: Exposed to our ridicule from his vanity; but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were sullied with weakness, and embellished by humanity. Political courage he certainly was devoid of; and from thence chiefly is derived the strong prejudice which prevails against his personal bravery: An inference, however, which must be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. She loved expensive amusements and shows; but possessed no taste in her pleasures. A great comet appeared about the time of her death; and the vulgar esteemed it the forerunner of that event. So considerable in their eyes are even the most insignificant princes.

He left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine. She was aged twenty nine years. Those alone remained of six legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never discovered any tendency, even the smallest, towards a passion for any mistress.

THE Archbishops of Canterbury during this reign were, Whytgift, who died in 1604; Bancroft, in 1610; Abbot, who survived the King. The chancellors, Lord Ellesmore, who resigned in 1617; Bacon was first Lord keeper till 1619, then was created chancellor, and was displaced in 1621; Williams, bishop of Lincoln was created Lord keeper in his place. The high treasurers were the Earl of Dorset, who died in 1609; the Earl of Salisbury, in 1612; the Earl

of Suffolk fined and displaced for bribery in 1618; Lord Mandeville, resigned in 1621; Earl of Middlesex, displaced in 1624; the Earl of Mariborough succeeded. The Lord admirals were, the Earl of Nottingham, who resigned in 1618; the Earl, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. The secretaries of state were the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Winwood, Nanton, Calvert, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton.

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THE numbers of the house of lords, in the first parliament of this reign, beside the bishops, were seventy eight temporal peers. The numbers in the first parliament of Charles were ninety seven. Consequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above those that expired.

THE house of commons, in the first parliament of this reign, consisted of four hundred and sixty seven members. It appears, that four burroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the first parliament of Charles consisted of four hundred and ninety four members, we may infer that James erected ten new burroughs.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

REIGN of JAMES I.*

Civil government of England during this period.—Ecclesiastical government.—Manners.—Finances.—Navy.—Commerce.—Manufactures.—Colonies.—Learning and arts.

IT may not be improper, at this period, to make a pause; and, departing a little from the historical style, take a survey of the state of the kingdom, with regard to government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning. Where a just notion is not formed of these particulars, history can be very little instructive, and often will not be intelligible.

WE may safely pronounce, that the English government, at the accession of the Scottish line, was much more arbitrary, than it is at present, the prerogative more unlimited, the liberties of the subject less accurately defined and secured. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high commission and star-chamber were sufficient to lay the whole kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

THE court of high commission had been erected by Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of parliament, passed at the beginning of her reign: By this act, it was thought proper, during the great revolution of religion, to arm the sovereign with full powers, in order to discourage and suppress opposition. All appeals from the inferior ecclesiastical courts were carried before the high commission; and, of consequence, the whole life and doctrine of the clergy lay directly under its inspection. Every breach of the act of uniformity, every refusal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and, during the reign of Elizabeth, had been punished by deprivation, by fines, confiscations, and imprisonment. James contented him-

* This history of the house of Stuart was written and published by the author before the history of the house of Tudor. Hence it happens that some passages, particularly in the present Appendix, may seem to be repetitions of what was formerly delivered in the reign of Elizabeth. The author, in order to obviate this objection, has cancelled some few passages in the foregoing chapters.

himself with the gentler penalty of deprivation; nor was that punishment inflicted with rigour on every offender *. All the catholics too were liable to be punished by this court, if they exercised any act of their religion, or were any way active in sending abroad their children or other relations, to receive that education, which they could not procure them in their own country. Popish priests were thrown into prison, and might be delivered over to the law, which punished them with death; tho' that severity had been sparingly exerted by Elizabeth, and never almost by James. In short, that liberty of conscience, which we so highly and so justly value at present, was totally suppressed; and no exercise of any religion, but the established, was permitted throughout the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended towards heresy or schism or sedition, was punishable by the high commissioners or any three of them: They alone were judges what expressions had that tendency: They proceeded not by information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their own fancy: They administered an oath, by which the party cited before them, was bound to answer any question, which should be propounded to him: Whoever refused this oath, tho' under pretence that he might thereby be brought to accuse himself or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment: And in short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal punishments were restrained by that patent of the prince, which erected that court, not by the act of parliament, which empowered him. By reason of the uncertain limits, which separate ecclesiastical from civil causes, all accusations of adultery and incest were tried by the court of high commission; and every complaint of wives against their husbands was there examined and discussed †. Under like pretences, every cause, which regarded conscience, that is, every cause, could have been brought under their jurisdiction.

BUT there was a sufficient reason, why the king would not be solicitous to stretch the jurisdiction of this court: The star-chamber possessed the same authority in civil matters; and its methods of proceeding were equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from the most remote antiquity; tho', 'tis pretended, that its power had been first carried to the utmost height by Henry VII. In all times, however, 'tis confessed, it enjoyed authority; and at no time was its authority circumscribed, or method of proceeding directed, by any precise law or statute.

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* According to Spenser's testimony, that he was introduced by Elizabeth, to the young duke of York, he says, that many of the catholics had been deputed.

† Rymers's maxim, p. 120.

Appendix.

WE have had already, or shall have sufficient occasion, during the course of this history, to mention the dispensing power, the power of imprisonment, of exacting forced loans * and benevolence, of pressing and quartering soldiers, of altering the customs, of erecting monopolies. These branches of power, if not directly opposite to the principles of all free government, must, at least, be acknowledged destructive to freedom in a monarchical constitution; where an eternal jealousy must be preserved against the sovereign, and no discretionary powers must ever be entrusted to him, by which any subject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almost constantly exercised these powers; and if, on any occasion, the prince had been obliged to submit to laws enacted against them, he had ever, in practice, eluded these laws, and returned to the same arbitrary administration. During a whole century before the accession of James, the regal authority, in almost all these particulars, had never once been called in question.

WE may also observe, that the principles in general, which prevailed during that age, were so favourable to monarchy, that they bestowed on it an authority almost absolute and unlimited, sacred and indefeasible.

THE meetings of parliament were so precarious; their sessions so short, compared to the vacations; that, when men's eyes were turned upwards in search of sovereign power, the prince alone was apt to strike them as the only permanent magistrate, invested with the whole majesty and authority of the state. The great complaisance too of parliaments, during so long a period, had extremely degraded and obscured those assemblies; and as all instances of opposition to prerogative must have been drawn from a remote age, they were unknown to a great many, and had the less authority even with those, who were acquainted with them. These examples, besides, of liberty, had commonly been accompanied with such circumstances of violence, convulsion, civil war, and disorder, that they presented but a disagreeable idea to the inquisitive part of the people, and afforded small inducement to renew such dismal scenes. By a great many, therefore, monarchy, simple and unmixed, was conceived to be the government of England; and those popular assemblies were supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being, in any degree, essential to its being and existence †. The prerogative of the crown

was

* During the two last centuries, no reign had passed without some forced loans from the subject.

† "Monarchies," according to Sir Walter Raleigh, "are of two sorts, touching their power or authority, viz. 1. Entire, where the whole power of ordering all state-matters, both in peace and war, both by law and custom appertain to the prince, as in the English kingdom; where the prince hath the power to make laws, league and war; to create magistrates; to pardon life; of appeal, &c. Tho', to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making laws, yet ever subject to the prince's pleasure and negative will — 2. Limited or restrained, that hath no
" full

Appendix. gion, was, by divines, called in aid; and the Monarch of heaven was supposed to be interested in supporting the authority of his earthly vicegerent. And tho' these doctrines were perhaps more openly inculcated and more strenuously insisted on during the reign of the Stuarts, they were not then invented; and were only found more necessary at that period, by reason of the opposite doctrines, which began to be promulgated by the puritanical party*.

In consequence of these exalted ideas of kingly authority, the prerogative, beside the instances of jurisdiction, founded on precedent, was, by many, supposed to possess an inexhaustible fund of latent powers, which might be exerted on any emergence. In every government, necessity, when real, supercedes all laws, and levels all limitations: But, in the English government, convenience alone was conceived to authorize any extraordinary act of regal power, and to render it obligatory on the people. Hence the strict obedience required to proclamations, during all periods of the English history; and, if James has incurred blame on account of his edicts, 'tis only because he multiplied them at a time, when they began to be less regarded, not because he first assumed that exercise of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel case, the following is a pretty remarkable instance.

QUEEN

monly canvassed. The strongest testimony, which I remember from a writer of James's age, in favour of English liberty, is in Cardinal Bentivoglio, a foreigner, who mentions the English government as similar to that of the low-country provinces under their princes, rather than to that of France or Spain. Englishmen were not so sensible that their prince was limited, because they were sensible, that no individual had any full security against a stretch of prerogative: But foreigners, by comparison, could perceive, that these stretches, from custom or other causes, were, at that time, less frequent in England than in other monarchies. Philip de Comines too remarked the English constitution, to be more popular, in his time, than that of France.

* Passive obedience is expressly and zealously inculcated in the homilies, composed and published by authority, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The convocation, which met in the very first year of the King's reign, voted as high monarchical principles as are contained in the decrees of the university of Oxford, voted during the rule of the tories. These principles, so far from being esteemed a novelty, introduced by King James's influence, passed so smoothly, that no historian has taken notice of them: They were never the subject of controversy, or dispute, or discourse; and it is only by means of bishop Overall's Convocation-book, printed near 70 years after, that we are acquainted with them. Would James, who was so cautious, and even timid, have ventured to begin his reign with a bold stroke, which would have given just ground of jealousy to his subjects? It appears, from that monarch's Basilicon Doron, written while he was in Scotland, that the republican ideas of the origin of power from the people were, at that time, esteemed puritanical novelties. The patriarchal scheme, 'tis remarkable, is inculcated in those votes of the convocation preserved by Overall; nor was Filmer the first inventor of those absurd notions. Into how many shapes have political reasonings been turned, in order to avoid an obvious, but, it seems, too homely a truth? The patriarchal scheme is nonsense. The original contract is opposed by experience. Men are unwilling to confess, that all government is originally derived from violence, usurpation or injustice, sanctified by time, and sometimes by forming imperfect consent.

QUEEN Elizabeth had appointed commissioners for the inspection of prisons, and had bestowed on them full discretionary powers to adjust all differences between prisoners and their creditors, to compound debts, and to give liberty to such debtors as they found honest, and incapable of making full payment. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the English constitution, doubts sprang up in many, that this commission was contrary to law; and it was represented in that light to James. He forbore therefore to renew the commission, till the first year of his reign; when complaints rose so high, with regard to the abuses practised in prisons, that he thought himself obliged to overcome his scruples, and to appoint new commissioners, invested with the same discretionary powers, which Elizabeth had formerly conferred *.

Upon the whole, we must conceive that monarchy, on the accession of the house of Stuart, was possessed of a very extensive authority: An authority, in the judgment of all, not exactly limited; in the judgment of some, not limited. But, at the same time, this authority was founded merely on the opinion of the people, influenced by antient precedent and example. It was not supported either by money or by force of arms. And, for that reason, we need not wonder, that the princes of that line were so extremely jealous of their prerogative; being sensible, that, when those claims were ravished from them, they possessed no influence, by which they could maintain their dignity. By the changes, which have since been introduced, the liberty and independence of individuals has been rendered much more full, intire, and secure; that of the public more uncertain and precarious.

We have had occasion to remark, in so many instances, the bigotry, which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different sects. Two arians, under the title of heretics, were punished with fire during this period; and no one reign, since the reformation, had been free from like barbarities. Stowe says, that these arians were offered their pardon at the stake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A midman, who called himself the Holy Ghost, was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned by the High Court of Mithridel to the same punishment. Twenty pounds a month, by law, could be levied from every one, who frequented not the established worship. The High Court, however, had one indulgent clause, that the fines exacted should be paid two thirds of the yearly income of the prison. It had time, when the law forbade to allow these penalties to run on for several years; and it was common to remit the entire sum of such Catholics, as had incurred the expense of a pilgrimage to Rome.

Appendix. more humane in this, as in every other respect. The puritans formed a sect, which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. An attempt of that kind would have been regarded as the most unpardonable enormity.

THE liberty of the press was incompatible with such maxims and such principles of government, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Besides employing the two terrible courts of star-chamber and high-commiſſion, whose power was unlimited; Queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by reſtraints upon the preſs. She paſſed a decree in her court of ſtar-chamber, that is, by her own will and pleaſure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge*: And another, in which ſhe prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the publiſhing any book or pamphlet *againſt the form or meaning of any reſtraint or ordinance, contained or to be contained, in any ſtatute or laws of this realm, or in any injunction made or ſet forth by her Majeſty or her privy council, or againſt the true ſenſe or meaning of any letters patent, commiſſions or prohibitions under the great ſeal of England*†. James extended the ſame penalties to the importing ſuch books from abroad‡. And to render thoſe edicts more effectual, he afterwards prohibited the printing any book without a permiſſion from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of London, or the vice chancellor of one of the univerſities, or of ſome perſon appointed by them§.

Manners.

THE manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government, which prevailed; and contained not that ſtrange mixture, which, at preſent, diſtinguiſhes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown, of induſtry and debauchery, frugality and profuſion, civility and ruſticity, fanaticiſm and ſcepticiſm. Candour, ſincerity, modeſty are the only qualities, which the Engliſh of that age poſſeſſed in common with the preſent.

HIGH pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and ſtatelineſs of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the common people. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not, as yet, been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of diſtinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourſe of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages, which reſult from opulence, are ſo ſolid and real, that thoſe poſſeſſed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The diſtinctions of birth and title,
being

* 28th of Eliz. See ſtate-trials: Sir Rob. Knightley, vol. 7. edit. 1. p. 522.

† *Id. ibid.*

§ *Id.* p. 616.

† Rymer, tom. xvii.

being more empty and imaginary, soon vanish upon familiar access and acquaintance.

THE expences of the great consisted in pomp and show and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended with 500 persons: The Earl of Hartford, in that to Brussels, carried 300 gentlemen along with him.

CIVIL honours, which now hold the first place, were, at that time, subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or since. This was the turn, that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken.

LIBERTY of commerce between the sexes was indulged; but without any licentiousness of manners. The court was very little an exception to this observation. James had rather entertained an aversion and contempt for the females; nor were those young courtiers, of whom he was so fond, able to break thro' the established manners of the nation.

THE country life prevails at present in England beyond any nation of Europe, except Poland; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increase of arts, pleasures, and social commerce, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilized life of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very earnest," as Lord Bacon tells us, "with the country-gentlemen to go from London to their country-seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: *Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but, in your country-villages, you are like ships in a river, which look like great things.*"

HE was not contented with reproof and exhortation. As Queen Elizabeth had perceived, with regret, the increase of London, and had restrained all new buildings by proclamation; James, who found that these edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them; tho' a strict execution seems still to have been wanting. Reiterated proclamations he also issued, in imitation of his predecessor, containing severe menaces against the gentry, who lived in town. This policy is contrary to that, which has ever been practised by all princes who wished the increase of their authority. To allure the nobility to court, to engage them in expensive pleasures or employments, which diminish their estates, to increase their subjection to ministers by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by absence: These have been the common arts of arbitrary government.

Appendix. But James had no money to support a splendid court, or bestow on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought too, that, by their living together, they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy the present evil, he was desirous of dispersing them into their country seats; where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority, and receive less support from each other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches, amassed, during their residence at home, rendered them independant. The influence, acquired by hospitality, made them formidable. They would not be led by the court: They could not be driven: And thus the system of the English government received a total and a sudden alteration in the course of less than forty years.

THE first rise of commerce and the arts had contributed, in preceding reigns, to scatter those immense fortunes of the barons, which rendered them so formidable both to king and people. The farther progress of these advantages began, during this reign, to ruin the small proprietors of land*; and, by both events, the gentry, or that rank which composed the house of commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were seized by the greater nobles, whose fortunes, placing them above frugality, or even calculation, were soon dissipated in expensive pleasures. These improvements reached at last all men of property; and those of slender fortunes, who, at that time, were often men of family, imitating those of a rank immediately above them, reduced themselves to poverty. Their lands, coming to sale, swelled the estate of those, who possessed riches sufficient for the fashionable expences; but who were not exempted from some care and attention to their domestic oeconomy.

THE gentry also of that age were engaged in no expence, except that of country hospitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no bribery or profusion required at elections†. Could human nature ever reach happiness, the condition of the English gentry, under so mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation.

Finances. THE condition of the King's revenue, as it stood in 1617, is thus stated‡. Of crown lands, 80,000 pounds a year; by customs and new impositions, near 190,000; by wards and other various branches of revenue, beside purveyance, 180,000

* Cabbala, p. 224. first edit.

† Men seem then to have been ambitious of representing the counties, but careless of the burroughs. A seat, in the house was, in itself, of small importance: But the former became a point of honour among the gentlemen. Journ. 10. Feb. 1620. Towns, which had formerly neglected their right of sending members, now began to claim it. Journ. 26. Feb. 1623.

‡ See abstract, or brief declaration of his Majesty's revenue, with the assignations and defalcations upon the same.

180,000. The whole amounting to 450,000. The King's ordinary disbursements, by the same account, is said to exceed this sum thirty six thousand pounds *. All the extraordinary sums, which he had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the states and by the King of France, benevolences, &c. were, in the whole, about two million, two hundred thousand pounds. Of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred and seventy five thousand pounds. The extraordinary disbursements of the King amounted to two millions; beside above four hundred thousand pounds given in presents. Upon the whole, a sufficient reason appears, partly from necessary expences, partly from want of oeconomy, why the King, even early in his reign, was very deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to support the government.

FARMERS, not commissioners, levied the customs. It seems, indeed, requisite, that the former method should always be tried before the latter; tho' a preferable one. When men's own interest is concerned, they fall upon an hundred expedients to prevent fraud in the merchants; and these the public may afterwards imitate, in establishing proper rules for its officers.

THE customs were supposed to amount to five *per cent.* of the value, and were levied upon exports, as well as imports. Nay, the imposition upon exports, by James's arbitrary additions, is said to amount to twenty five *per cent.* This practice, so hurtful to industry, prevails still in France, Spain, and most countries of Europe. The customs in 1694, yielded 127,000 pounds a-year †: They rose to 100,000 pounds towards the end of the reign ‡.

INTEREST during this reign, was never below eight *per cent.*: An indication of the great profits and small progress of commerce.

ALL the extraordinary supplies granted by the parliament, during this whole reign, amounted not to more than 630,000 pounds; which, divided among twenty one years, makes 30,000 pounds a-year. I do not include those supplies, amounting to 300,000 pound, which were given the King, by his last parliament. These were paid in to their commissioners; and the expence of the Spanish war would be much more than sufficient to exhaust them. The distressed state of the Nation was a great burthen on James, during part of his reign. The King, it must be owned, possessed not frugality, proportioned to the extreme narrowness of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor costly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigal mitretries. His building was not sumptuous; tho' the banquetting house must not be forgot, a new monument, which does honour to his reign. Hunting was his chief amusement, the cheapest pastime

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* The excess was formerly greater, and approached to 100,000 pounds a-year.

† Journ. 21 of May, 1694.

‡ 14. 15. May, 1701.

Appendix. fure in which a king can indulge himself. His expences were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury.

ONE day, 'tis said, while he was standing amidst some of his courtiers, a porter passed by, loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treasury. The King observed, that Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, one of his handsome agreeable favourites, whispered somewhat to one standing near him. Upon enquiry, he found, that Rich had said, *How happy would that money make me!* Without hesitation, James bestowed it all upon him, tho' it amounted to 3000 pounds. He added, *You think yourself very happy in obtaining so large a sum; but I am more happy, in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love.* The generosity of James was more the result of a benign humour or light fancy than of reason or judgment. The objects of it were such as could render themselves agreeable to him in his loose hours; not such as were endowed with great merit, or who possessed talents or popularity, which could strengthen his interest with the people.

SUBSIDIES and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by historians; but neither the amount of these taxes, nor the method of imposing them, have been well explained. It appears, that the fifteenths formerly corresponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables*. But a valuation being made, during the reign of Edward III. that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular sum, which they themselves assessed upon the inhabitants. The same tax in corporate towns was called a tenth; probably, because there it was, at first, a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and fifteenth thro' the kingdom, or a fifteenth, as it is often more concisely called, was about 29,000 pounds†. The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth, a subsidy amounted to 120,000 pounds: In the fortieth, it was not above 78,000‡. It afterwards fell to 70,000; and was continually decreasing||. The reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the subsidy bills**, that one subsidy was given for four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the fiftieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, tho' he should possess estates in other counties; and the assessors formed a loose estimation of his property,

* Coke Inst. book iv. cap. 1. Of fifteens, quinzins. † Id. subsidies temporary.

‡ Journ. 11 July 1610. || Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. 1. Subsidies temporary.

** See statutes at large.

perty, and rated him accordingly. To preserve, however, some rule in the estimation, it seems to have been the practice to keep an eye to former assessments, and to rate every man according as his ancestors, or men of such an estimated property, were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient reason, why subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great increase of money and rise of rents. But there was an evident reason, why they continually decreased. The favour, as is natural to suppose, ran always against the crown; especially during the later end of Elizabeth, when subsidies became numerous and frequent, and the sums levied were considerable. The assessors, tho' accustomed to have an eye to former estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule; but might rate anew any person, according to his present income. When rents fell, or parts of an estate were sold off, the proprietor was sure to represent these losses, and obtain a diminution of his subsidy; but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken against the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And to make the matter worse, the alterations, which happened in property during this age were, in general, unfavourable to the crown. The small proprietors, or twenty pound men, went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsidy. So loose indeed is the whole method of rating subsidies, that the wonder was not how the tax should continually diminish; but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at last so unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it for a land tax.

The price of corn, during this reign, and by consequence, that of the other necessaries of life, was no lower, or was rather higher, than at present. By a proclamation of James, establishing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty two shillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below sixteen, the commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines*. These prices then are to be regarded as low; tho' they would pass for high by our present estimation. The best wool, during the greatest part of James's reign, was at thirty three shillings a ton: At present, it is not above two thirds of that value; tho' it is to be presumed, that our exports in woolen goods are considerably increased. The finer manufactures too, by the progress of art and industry, have been kept pretty near at the same value, if they have not rather diminished, notwithstanding the great increase of money. In Shakespear, the hostess tells Falstaff, that the shirts she bought him were sold at eight shillings a yard; a very high price at this day, even supposing, what is not probable, that the best holland at that time

* Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 35.

Appendix. time was equal in goodness to the best which can now be purchased. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two and twenty shillings *. I have not been able by any inquiry to learn the common price of butcher meat during the reign of James : But as bread is the chief article of food, and its price regulates that of every thing else, we may presume, that cattle bore a high value as well as corn. Besides, we must consider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting arable land into pasture : A certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and consequently that all butcher meat, as well as bread, was considerably higher than at present. We have a regulation of the market with regard to poultry and some other articles, very early in Charles I's reign † ; and the prices are high. A turkey cock four shillings and sixpence, a turkey hen three shillings, a pheasant cock six shillings, a pheasant hen five shillings, a partridge one shilling, a goose two shillings, a capon two and sixpence, a pullet one and sixpence, a rabbit eight pence, a dozen of pigeons six shillings. We must consider, that London at present is more than three times the bulk it was at that time. A circumstance, which much increases the price of poultry and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a distance. The chief difference in expence between that age and the present consists in the imaginary wants of men, which have since extremely multiplied. These are the principal reasons, why James's revenue would go farther than the same money in our time ; tho' the difference is not so great as is usually imagined.

Arms.

THE public was entirely free from the great danger and expence of a standing army. While James was vaunting his divine vicegerency, and boasting of an almost unlimited prerogative, he possessed not so much as a single regiment of guards to maintain his extensive claims : A sufficient proof, that he sincerely believed his pretensions to be well grounded, and a strong presumption, that they were at least built on what were then deemed plausible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to 160,000 men ‡, were the sole defence of the kingdom. 'Tis pretended, that they were kept in very good order during this reign §. The city of London procured officers, who had served abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exercises in artillery garden ; a practice, which had been discontinued since 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of showing a well ordered and well appointed militia. The natural propensity of men towards military shows and exercises will always be sufficient, with a little attention of the sovereign,

* See a compendium or dialogue inserted in the Memoirs of Wool. chap. 23. † Rymer tom. xix. p. 511. ‡ Journ. i. March 1623. § Stowe. See also Sir Walter Raleigh of the prerogatives of parliament, and Johnstons hist. lib. 18.

reign, to excite and support this spirit in any nation. The very boys, at this time, in mimicry of their elders, enlisted themselves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practised the discipline, of which the models were every day exposed to their view. Sir Edward Harwood, in a memorial composed at the beginning of the subsequent reign, says, that England was so unprovided of horses fit for war, that 2000 men could not possibly be mounted throughout the whole kingdom. At present, the breed of horses is so much improved, that almost all those employed, either for the plough, waggon, or coach, would be fit for that purpose.

The disorder of Ireland obliged James to keep up some forces there, and put him to a great expence. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eight pence a day, a lieutenant two shillings, an ensign eighteen pence &c. The armies in Europe were not near so numerous, during that age; and the private men, we may observe, were drawn from a better rank than at present, and approaching nearer to that of the officers &c.

In the year 1583, there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and these were found to amount to 1,172,000 men, according to Raleigh §. It is impossible to warrant the exactness of this computation; or rather, we may fairly presume it to be somewhat inaccurate. But as it approached near the truth, England has probably, since that time, increased much in populousness. The growth of London, in riches and beauty, as well as numbers of inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600, it doubled every forty years * * ; and consequently in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants, as at the beginning of the century. It has ever been the center of all the trade in the kingdom; and almost the only town which affords society and amusement. The affection, which the English bear to a country life, makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the amusements of the capital, which is favoured by the residence of the king, by being the seat of government, and of all the courts of justice, can prevail over their passion for their rural villas.

LONDON, at this time, was almost intirely built of wood, and in every respect, was certainly a very ugly city. The Earl of Arundel first introduced the practice of brick buildings [1].

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Appendix.

Navy.

THE navy of England was esteemed very formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it consisted only of thirty three ships besides pinnaces *: And the largest of these would not equal our fourth rates at present. Raleigh advises never to build a ship of war above 600 tons †. James was not negligent of the navy. In five years, preceding 1623, he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests ‡. The largest ship that ever had come from the English docks, was built during this reign. She was only 1400 tons, and carried sixty four guns ||. The merchant ships, in cases of necessity, were converted instantly into ships of war.

Commerce.

EVERY session of parliament, during this whole reign, we meet with grievous lamentations of the decay of trade and the growth of popery : Such violent propensity have men to complain of the present times, and to entertain discontents against their fortune and condition. The King himself was deceived by these popular complaints, and was at a loss to account for the total want of money, which he heard so much exaggerated §. It may however be affirmed, that, during no preceding period of English history, was there a more sensible increase, than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages, which distinguish a flourishing people. Not only the peace which he maintained, was favourable to industry and commerce : His turn of mind inclined him to promote the peaceful arts : And trade being as yet in its infancy, all additions to it must have been the more evident to every eye, which was not blinded by melancholy prejudices **.

By

* Coke's inst. book iv. chap. 1. Consultation in parliament for the navy.

† By Raleigh's account, in his discourse of the first invention of shipping, the fleet in the twenty fourth of the Queen, consisted only of thirteen ships, and were augmented afterwards eleven. He probably reckoned some pinnaces, which Coke called ships.

‡ Journ. 11th of March 1623. Sir William Monson makes the number amount only to nine new ships. p. 253. || Stowe. § Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 413.

** That of the honest historian Stowe seems not to have been of this number. "The great blessings of God, says he, thro' increase of wealth in the common subjects of this land, especially upon the citizens of London; such within men's memory, and chiefly within these few years of peace, that, except there were now due mention of some sort made thereof, it would in time to come be held incredible, &c." In another place, "Amongst the manifold tokens and signs of the infinite blessings of Almighty God bestowed upon this kingdom, by the wondrous and merciful establishing of peace within ourselves, and the full benefit of concord with all christian nations and others : Of all which graces let no man dare to presume he can speak too much ; whereof in truth there can never be enough said, neither was there ever any people less considerate and less thankful than at this time, being not willing to endure the memory of their present happiness,

By an account *, which seems judicious and accurate, it appears, that all the seamen, employed in the merchant service, amounted to 12,000 men, which probably exceeds not the sixth part of their present number. Sir Thomas Overbury says, that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their ships were of inferior burden to those of the latter †. Sir William Monson computed the English naval power to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch ‡.

A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the English were then eminent, Manufactures would appear very contemptible, in comparison of those, which flourish among them at present. Almost all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy. Ship-building and founding of iron-cannon were the sole, in which the English excelled. They seem, indeed, to have possessed alone the secret of the latter; and great complaints were made every parliament against the exportation of English ordnance.

NINE tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woolen goods. Wool, however, was allowed to be exported, till the 19th of the King. Its exportation was then forbid by proclamation; tho' that edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch; who gained, 'tis pretended, 700,000 pounds a-year by this manufacture §. A prohibition, issued by the King, to export cloth in that condition, had succeeded so ill, during one year, by the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the King, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the most impolitic in the world. It seems indeed to have been premature.

Is so little credit was the fine English cloth even at home, that the King was obliged to seek expedients, by which he might engage the people of fashion to wear it **. The manufacture of fine linnen was totally unknown in the kingdom ††.

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* Under the second course of commerce and traffic thro'out the kingdom, great building of cities, towns, and villages, and by private merchants, the re-peopling of cities, towns, and villages, beside the building of ships and other vessels of war and coily building, as well within the city of London as elsewhere, were especially visible within twelve years, &c.

† The truth is, that in the 17th century, when

‡ Remark on the Dutch, History and Description.

§ Neal's History, &c.

¶ Neal's History, &c.

¶ Neal's History, &c. In the 17th century, when, computed to be at 400,000 pounds a-year. These manufactures were almost all foreign, and the exportation of them. The computation, however, is not very exact, as the Dutch were not so much an enemy to the English as they were.

** Neal's History, &c. In the 17th century, when

Appendix.

THE company of merchant-adventurers, by their patent, possessed the sole commerce of woollen goods, tho' the staple commodity of the nation. An attempt, made during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, had been attended with bad consequences for a time, by a conspiracy of the merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchases of cloth; and the Queen immediately restored them their patent.

THEY were groundless fears of a like accident, that enslaved the nation to those exclusive companies, which confined so much every branch of commerce and industry. The parliament, however, annulled, in the third of the King, the patent of the Spanish company; and the trade to Spain, which was, at first, very insignificant, soon became the most considerable in the kingdom. 'Tis strange, that they were not thence encouraged to abolish all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the entrance of new adventurers.

A board of trade was erected by the King in 1622*. One of the reasons, assigned in the commission, is to remedy the low price of wools, which begot complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory. 'Tis more probable, however, that this fall of prices proceeded from the increase of wool. The King likewise recommends it to the commissioners to inquire and examine, whether a greater freedom of trade and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial. Men were then fettered by their own prejudices; and the King was justly afraid of embracing a bold measure, the consequences of which might be uncertain. The digesting of a navigation-act, of a like nature with the famous one executed afterwards by the republican parliament, is likewise recommended to the commissioners. The arbitrary powers, then commonly assumed by the privy council, appear evidently thro' the whole tenor of the commission.

THE silk manufacture had no footing in England: But, by James's direction, mulberry-trees were planted, and silk-worms introduced†. The climate seems averse to the execution of this project.

GREENLAND is thought to have been discovered during this reign; and the whale-fishery was carried on with great success: But the industry of the Dutch, in spite of all opposition, soon deprived the English of this source of riches. A company was erected for the discovery of the north-west passage; and many fruitless attempts were made for that purpose. In such noble projects, despair ought never to be admitted, till the absolute impossibility of success be fully ascertained.

THE passage to the East-Indies had been opened to the English during the reign of Elizabeth; but the trade to those parts of the world was not entirely established, till this reign, when the East India-company received a new patent, enlarged their

stock

* *See p. 106.*† *See p. 106.*

back to 1500,000 pounds *, and fitted out several ships for their adventures. In 1602, they built a vessel of 1200 ton, the largest ever seen at sea, which England had ever known. She was unfortunate, and perished in shipwreck. In 1604, a large ship of the company, assisted by a privateer, met and defeated several engagements with a squadron of Portuguese, and gained a complete victory over forces much superior. During the following years, the Dutch company were guilty of great injuries towards the English, in expelling many of their factors, and destroying their settlements: But these violence's were resisted with a proper spirit by the court of England. A naval force was equipped under the Lord of Oxford †, and lay in wait for the return of the Dutch East India fleet. By reason of cross winds, Oxford failed of his purpose, and the Dutch escaped. Sometime after, one ship, full of riches, was taken by Vice Admiral Merwin; and it was stipulated by the Dutch to pay 70,000 pounds to the English company, in consideration of the injuries, which that company had suffered ‡. But neither this stipulation, nor the fear of reprisals, nor the sense of that friendship, which subsisted between England and the states, could restrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have sole possession of the spice-trade, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter in the island of Amboyna; and under very improbable, and even absurd pretences, seized all the factors with their families, and put them to death with the most inhuman tortures. This dismal news arrived in England at the time, when James, by the prejudices of his subjects and the intrigues of his favorite, was forced into a breach with Spain; and he was obliged, after some remonstrances, to acquiesce in this indignity from a state, whose alliance was now become necessary to him. This markable, that the nation, almost without a murmur, submitted to this injury from their protestant confederates; an injury, which, besides the horrid enormity of the action, was of much deeper importance to national interest, than all those which they were to encounter to resist from the house of Austria.

Warren chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, in the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the noblest footing, that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the first discoverers of the new world, immediately took possession of the provinces named, which they found therein; and, by the attachment of great numbers, they were augmented and populated their own country as well as that which they conquered. The English, however, on account of their avidity and avarice, which had rendered them adventurers, and not settlers, were not so successful. That our nation was formerly

Rome, 1700. 4to. 2 vols. 12s. 6d. 1700.

London, 1700. 4to. 2 vols. 12s. 6d. 1700.

Appendix. glected, which reaches from St. Augustine to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile soil, but nothing more, to the industrious planter. Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and indigent, who, at home, increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies, which were planted along that tract, have promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even multiplied the inhabitants of their mother-country. The spirit of independency, which was reviving in England, here shone forth in its full lustre, and received new accession of force from the aspiring character of those, who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had fought for freedom amidst those savage desarts.

QUEEN Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after planting one feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was intirely abandoned. But when peace put an end to the war-like enterprizes against Spain, and left ambitious spirits no hopes of making any longer such quick advances towards honour and fortune, the nation began to second the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to seek a surer, tho' slower expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony and began a settlement; which the company, erected by patent for that purpose in London and Bristol, took care to supply with yearly recruits of provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal discovered a more direct and shorter passage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had first directed their course southwards to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the English settlements. The same year, five hundred persons under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ship, meeting with a tempest, was driven into Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a settlement in those islands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the English colonies: But notwithstanding all his care, seconded by supplies from James, and by money raised from the first lottery ever known in the kingdom, such difficulties attended the settlement of these countries, that, in 1614, there were not alive more than 400 men, of all that had been sent thither. After supplying themselves with provisions more immediately requisite for the support of life, the new planters began the cultivating tobacco; and James, notwithstanding his antipathy to that drug, gave them permission to enter it in England; and he prohibited all importation from Spain*. By degrees, new colonies were established in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they settled, leaving that of Virginia to the province first planted. The Island of Barbadoes was also planted in this reign.

SPENCER

* Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 621, 625.

SPECULATIVE reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting those remote colonies; and foretold, that, after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America: But time has shown, that the views, entertained by those who encouraged such generous undertakings, were more just and solid. A mild government and great naval force have preserved, and may long preserve the dominion of England over her colonies. And such advantage have commerce and navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than a fourth of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American settlements.

AGRICULTURE was antiently very imperfect in England. The sudden transitions, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest prices of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are sufficient proofs, that the produce depended intirely on the season, and that art had, as yet, done nothing to fence against the injuries of the heavens. During this reign, considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, so in this the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets, treating of husbandry, which were wrote about this time. The nation, however, was still dependant on foreigners for daily bread; and tho' its exportation of grain now forms a considerable branch of its commerce, notwithstanding its increase of people, there was, at that time, a regular import from the Baltic as well as from France; and if ever it stopped, the bad consequences were very sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh in his observations computes, that two millions went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn had ever been allowed in England; and Camden observes, that agriculture, from that moment, received new life and vigour.

The endeavours of James, or more properly speaking, those of the nation, for the promotion of trade, were attended with greater success than those for the encouragement of learning. Tho' the age was by no means destitute of eminent writers, a very bad taste in general prevailed during that period; and the monarch himself was not a little infected with it.

On the origin of letters among the Greeks, the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was distinguished by an admirable simplicity, ^{learned and} which, whatever rudeness may sometimes attend it, is so fitted to express the genuine movements of nature and passion, that the composition, purified of its faults, will for ever appear valuable to the discerning part of mankind. The glorious figure

Appendix. figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the unnatural conceit, the jingle of words; such false ornaments are not employed by early writers; not because they were rejected, but because they scarce ever occurred to them. An easy, unforced strain of sentiment runs thro' their compositions; tho' at the same time we may observe, that, amidst the most elegant simplicity of thought and expression, one is sometimes surpris'd to meet with a poor conceit, which had presented itself unsought for, and which the author had not acquired critical observation enough to condemn*. A bad taste seizes with avidity these frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taste, 'ere surfeited by them: They multiply every day more and more, in the fashionable compositions: Nature and good sense are neglected: Laboured ornaments, studied and admired: And a total degeneracy of style and language prepares the way for barbarism and ignorance. Hence the Asiatic manner was found to depart so much from the simple purity of Athens: Hence that tinsel eloquence, which is observable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himself is not wholly exempted, and which so much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

On the revival of letters, when the judgment of the public is, as yet, raw and unformed, this false glister catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the durable beauties of solid sense and lively passion. The reigning genius is then diametrically opposite to that which prevails on the first origin of arts. The Italian writers, 'tis evident, even the most celebrated, have not reached the proper simplicity of thought and composition; and in Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, frivolous witticisms and forced conceits are but too predominant. The period, during which letters were cultivated in Italy, was so short as scarce to allow leisure for correcting this adulterated relish.

THE more early French writers are liable to the same reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected those ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the least pure of the antients, supplied them with so many models. And it was not till late, that observation and reflection gave rise to a more natural turn of thought and composition among that elegant people.

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* The name of Polyuces, one of Oedipus's sons, means in the original *much quarrelling*. In the alterations betwixt the two brothers, in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, this conceit is employed; and 'tis remarkable, that so poor a conundrum could not be rejected by any of these three poets; tho' justly celebrated for their taste and simplicity. What could Shakespear have done worse? *There is his hissing of ambition, non amantem*. Many similar instances will occur to the learned. 'Tis well known, that Aristotle treats very severely of poets, divides them into several classes, and recommends the use of them to orators.

A like character may be extended to the English writers, first mentioned during the reign of Elizabeth and James, and even extending to the present Learning, on its revival, in this island, was revived in the same intellectual state, which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans. And, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the English writers were produced at great genius before they were endued with any degree of taste, and by that means gave a kind of sanction to those coarse ideas and expressions, which they too much affected. Their distorted conceptions are attended with force and vigour of mind, that we admire the imagination, which produced them; as much as we blame the want of judgment, which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticism of the writers of that age would exceed our present purpose. A short character of the most eminent, delivered with the same freedom, which history exercises over kings and ministers, may not be improper. The national prepossessions, which prevail, may perhaps render the former liberty not the least perilous for an author.

If Shakespeare be considered as a Man, born in a rude age, and educated in the lowest manner, without any instruction, either from the world or from books, he may be regarded as a prodigy: If represented as a Poet, capable of furnishing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we must abate somewhat of this eulogy. In his compositions, we regret, that great irregularities, and even sometimes absurdities should so frequently disturb the animated and passionate scenes intermixt with them; and at the same time, we perhaps admire the more those beauties, on account of their being intermixed with such deformities. A striking peculiarity of sentiment, adapted to a singular character, he frequently hits, as it were by inspiration; but a regular propriety of thought he cannot, for any time, uphold. His various and picturesque expressions as well as descriptions, are used in short but often in vain we look for the continued purity or consistency of discourse. If we take the measure of an theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect, as it is in the spectator rather than the reader, we can more readily excuse than the want of taste, which often prevails in his productions, and which, generally, only by intervals, to the irradiations of genius, or great and strong genius he has fully possessed, and one matched equally with a temper and genius, which has been able to be used as a power, have distinguished him as a writer, and made him alone for the writing an excellence in the dramatic. And there remains a suspicion, that we cannot but be sensible, that the general character of his genius in the true manner as being often *supra seipsum*, or beyond himself, in his expressions and in his plans. He does not, in general, follow

Appendix.

JOHNSON possessed all the learning, which was wanting to Shakespeare, and wanted all the genius, of which the other was possessed. Both of them were equally deficient in taste and elegance, in harmony and correctness. A servile copist of the antients, Johnson translated into bad English, the beautiful passages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipsed by that of Shakespeare, whose rude genius prevailed over the rude art of his cotemporary. The English theatre has ever since taken a strong tincture of Shakespeare's spirit and character; and thence it has proceeded, that the nation have undergone, from all their neighbours, the reproach of barbarism, from which their many valuable productions in other parts of learning, would otherwise have exempted them. Johnson had a pension of a hundred merks from the King, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged 63.

FAIRFAX has translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and, at the same time, with an exactness, which, for that age, are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation. Harrington's translation of Ariosto is not likewise without its merit. 'Tis to be regretted, that these poets should have imitated the Italians in their stanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it, that displeases in long performances. They had otherways, as well as Spencer, who went before them, contributed much to the polishing and refining the English versification.

In Donne's satyres, when carefully inspected, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity; but these totally suffocated and buried by the harshest and most uncouth expression, which is any where to be met with.

If the poetry of the English was so rude and imperfect during that age, we may reasonably expect, that their prose would be liable to still greater objections. Tho' the latter appears the more easy, as it is the more natural method of composition; it has ever in practice been found the more rare and difficult; and there scarce is an instance, in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection, before the refinement of poetical numbers and expression. English prose, during the reign of James, was wrote with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total disregard of the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin sentences and citations, it likewise imitated those inversions, which, however forcible and graceful in the antient languages, are intirely contrary to the idiom of the English. I shall indeed venture to affirm, that, whatever uncouth phrases and expressions occur in old books, they were owing chiefly

chiefly to the unformed taste of the nation; and that the language, *English*, in the courts of Elizabeth and James, was very less different from that which we meet with at present in good company. Of this opinion, the noblest English speeches, which are to be met in parliamentary journals, and which were originally so opposite to the celebrated oration, seem to be a sufficient proof. And these are not productions of that age, which, being written by men who were not assisted by professors, retain a very natural manner, and may give us some idea of the language, which prevailed among men of the world. I find particularly mention Sir John Davis's discovery, Throgmorton's and Newth's letters.

The great glory of literature in this island, during the reign of James, was my Lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; tho' he possessed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light, in which we view him at present, tho' very different, he was yet inferior to his cotemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galileo took the road, and made, himself, considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: The Florentine revived that science, entered in it, and was the first, who applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: The latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from observation and the senses. Bacon's style is stiff and rigid: His wit, tho' often brilliant, is sometimes unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similes and long-spun allegories, which so much distinguish the English authors: Galileo is a lively and agreeable, tho' somewhat unpolished author. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps divided with literary glory, which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has so much neglected the renown, which it has acquired by giving birth to philosophy. That national spirit, which prevails among the English, and which is the cause of their great happiness, is the cause, why they borrow on all their sciences from France, and Bacon among the rest, such praise and acknowledgment, as may seem to be impartial and excessive. He died in 1626, in the eighty-first year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's history can have the patience to peruse the Greek and Latinal learning, which compose the history of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, when he comes to the Greek and Roman story, and the Greek and Roman

Appendix. rewarded. Raleigh is the best model of that antient style, which some writers would affect to revive at present. He was beheaded in 1618, aged 66 years.

CAMDEN's history of Queen Elizabeth may be esteemed good composition, both for the style and the matter. It is wrote with simplicity of expression, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not perhaps be too much to affirm, that it is among the best historical productions, which have yet been composed by any Englishman. 'Tis well known, that the English have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1618, aged 72 years.

WE shall mention the King himself at the end of these English writers ; because that is *his* place, when considered as an author. It may safely be affirmed, that the mediocrity of James's talent in literature, joined to the great change in national taste, is the chief cause of that contempt, under which his memory labours, and which is often carried, by party-writers, to a great extreme. 'Tis remarkable, how different from ours were the sentiments of the antients with regard to learning. Of the first twenty Roman emperors, counting from Caesar to Severus, above the half were authors ; and tho' few of them seem to have been eminent in that profession, it is always remarked to their praise, that, by their example, they encouraged literature. Not to mention Germanicus, and his daughter, Agrippina, persons so nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the classic writers, whose works remain, were men of the highest quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be ascribed to the invention of printing ; which has rendered books so common, that men even of slender fortunes can have access to them.

THAT James was but a midling writer may be allowed : That he was a contemptible one can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Basilicon Doron, particularly the two last books, the true law of free monarchies, his answer to Cardinal Perron, and almost all his speeches and messages to parliament, will confess him to have possessed no mean genius. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions ; who, in that age, did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings ? If he has composed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the Pope to be Antichrist ; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier ; and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James ? From the grossness of its suppositions, we may infer the ignorance of an age ; but never should pronounce

nounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his adoption of popery, and its being conferred with the appearance of religion.

Such a superiority do the pursuits of literature possess above every other occupation, that even he, who attains but a mediocrity in them, merits the pre-eminence above those who excel the most in the commonest and vulgar professions. The father of the house is commonly an eminent man, yet for the language of his Majesty we shall always find superior to that of the father, in the parliament during this reign.

Every science, as well as polite literature, must be considered as being in a decay. Scholastic learning and polemical divinity retarded the growth of useful knowledge. Sir Henry Savile, in the preamble of that deed, by which he annex'd a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England. The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Cassiodorus, eminent for this knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of 300 a-year, as well as by church preferments *. The famous Antonis di Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, no despicable philosopher, came likewise into England, and afforded great triumph to the nation, by their gaining so considerable a proselyte from the papists. But the mortification followed soon after. For the Archbishop, tho' advanced to some ecclesiastical preferments, received not encouragement, sufficient to satisfy his ambition, and made his escape into Italy, where, soon after, he died in confinement.

* Rymer 10na. xvii. p. 217.

† Id. p. 7. 9.

‡ Id. p. 9.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CHARLES I.

CHAP. I.

Parliament at Westminster.——At Oxford.——Naval expedition against Spain.——Second parliament.——Impeachment of Buckingham.——Political measures of the court.——War with France.——Expedition to the Isle of Rhe.

NO sooner had Charles taken into his hands the reins of government, than he showed an impatience to assemble the great council of the nation, and he would gladly, for the sake of dispatch, have called together the same parliament, which had sat under his father, and which by, at that time, held prorogation. But being told, that this measure would appear unusual, he refused writ for the summoning a new parliament on the 9th of May; and it was not without regret, that the arrival of the Princess Henrietta, whom he had married by proxy, obliged him to delay by repeated prorogations, till the twentieth of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the conference of business. The young Prince, unacquainted and inexperienced in the affairs of state, and the thanks and caresses, with which he had been treated, while he was in France,

Chap. I.
16:5.

curing the rupture with the house of Austria. And besides that he laboured under great necessities, he hastened with alacrity to a period, when he might receive the most undoubted testimonies of the dutiful attachment of his subjects. His discourse to the parliament was full of simplicity and cordiality. He lightly mentioned the occasion, which he had for supply. He employed no intrigue to influence the suffrages of the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to mention any particular sum, which might be expected by him. Secure of the affections of the commons, he was resolved, that their bounty should be intirely their own deed; unasked, unfollicited; the genuine fruit of sincere confidence and regard.

THE house of commons accordingly took into consideration the business of supply. They knew, that all the money, granted by the last parliament, had been expended on naval and military armaments; and that great anticipations were likewise made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant, that Charles was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money, both from his own subjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenues could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were sensible, that the present war was, very lately, the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterprizes, directed against the whole house of Austria; against the King of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the Emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of his age, who had subdued and astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep impressions, they saw, must be made by the English sword, and a vigorous offensive war be waged against these mighty potentates, ere they would resign a principality, which they had now fully subdued, and which they held in secure possession, by its being surrounded with all their other territories.

To answer, therefore, all these great and important ends; to satisfy their young King in the first request, which he made them; to prove their sense of the many royal virtues, particularly oeconomy, with which Charles was endued; the house of commons, conducted by the wisest and ablest senators, that had ever flourished in England; thought proper to confer on the King a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 pounds*.

This measure, which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles, than any serious design of supporting him, appears so extraordinary, when considered in all

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* A subsidy was now fallen to about 56,000 pounds. Cabbala, p. 224. first edit.

its circumstances, that it naturally drew up our attention, and raised an inquiry concerning the causes of a conduct, unprecedented in an English parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, were not, it is probable, all influenced by the same motives; and few declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer the truth, if we mention all the views, which the facts or conjectures could suggest to them.

It is not to be doubted, but spleen and ill-will against the Duke of Buckingham had a great influence with many. So vast and rapid a fortune, to little merit, could not fail to excite public envy; and, however men's hatred might have been suspended for a moment, while the Duke's conduct seemed to gratify their passion, and their prejudices, it was impossible for him long to preserve the affections of the people. His influence over the modesty of Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakness of James; nor was any public measure conducted but by his counsel and direction. His impetuous temper prompted him to raise suddenly, to the highest elevation, his flatterers and dependants: And, upon the least occasion of displeasure, he threw them down with equal fury and violence. Implacable in his hatred, fickle in his friendship: All men were either regarded as his enemies, or dreaded soon to become so. The whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand; while he both expressed the intire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his disposition, the most considerable offices of the crown.

However the ill humour of the commons might have been increased by these considerations, we are not to suppose them the sole motives. The last parliament of James, amidst all their joy and festivity, had given him a supply very disproportioned to his demand and to the occasion. And, as every house of commons, which was elected during forty years, succeeded to all the passions and principles of their predecessors; we might rather to account for this extraordinary and ungeneral situation of the kingdom during that whole period, than from very circumstances, which attended the immediate conjuncture.

The nation were very little accustomed, at that time, to the notion of taxes, and had never opened their pores, in any degree, for the supply of the government. Habits, more than nature, we said, in every thing, regulate the nature of mankind. In this view, like any other thing of the same kind, it might be considered as a loss to the king. The parliament, though by custom, would not augment their number in the same proportion.

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THE puritanical party, tho' disguised, had a very great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect. All these were disgusted with the court, both by the prevalence of the principles of civil liberty, essential to their party, and on account of the restraint, under which they were held by the established hierarchy. In order to fortify himself against the resentment of James, Buckingham had affected popularity, and entered into the cabals of the puritans: But, being secure of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned that party; and, on that account, was the more exposed to their hatred and resentment. Tho' the religious schemes of many of the puritans, when explained, appear pretty frivolous, we are not thence to imagine, that they were pursued by none but persons of weak understanding. Some men of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge, whom the nation, at that time, produced, could not enjoy any peace of mind; because obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity, by a priest, covered with a white linnen vestment.

THE match with France, and the articles in favour of catholics, which were suspected to be in the treaty, were likewise causes of disgust to this whole party: Tho' it must be remarked, that the alliance with that crown was infinitely less obnoxious to the protestants, and less favourable to the catholics, than that formerly projected with Spain, and was therefore received rather with pleasure than dissatisfaction.

TO all these causes we must yet add another of considerable moment. The house of commons, we may observe, were almost intirely governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity and the largest views: Men, who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships, which some of them had undergone in prosecution of them. Among these we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these men saw, with regret, an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity, which the King's necessities offered them, of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. Tho' their ancestors had blindly given way to practices and precedents favourable to kingly power, and had been able, notwithstanding, to preserve some small remains of liberty; it would be impossible, they thought, when all these pretensions were methodized and prosecuted by the increasing knowledge of the age, to maintain any shadow of popular government, in opposition to such unlimited authority in the sovereign. It was necessary to fix a choice: Either to abandon intirely

Chap. I. that he seems even unwilling to impute it to the commons: And, tho' he was
 1625
 11th of July. obliged to adjourn the parliament by reason of the plague, which at that time,
 1st of Aug. raged in London; he immediately re-assembled them at Oxford and made a new
 attempt to gain from them some supplies in such an urgent necessity.

Parliament at
 Oxford. CHARLES now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy, which he
 had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particu-
 lar detail, both of the alliances, which he had formed, and of the military ope-
 rations, which he had projected. He told the parliament, That, by a promise
 of subsidies, he had engaged the King of Denmark to take part in the war; that
 that monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to animate those
 princes, who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the
 empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into
 the Palatinate, and by that quarter to rouse the members of the evangelical uni-
 on; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare, which they main-
 tained with Spain; that no less a sum than 700,000 pounds a-year had been
 found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that the maintenance of
 the fleet and the defence of Ireland demanded an annual expence of 400,000
 pounds; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated, in the public
 service, his whole revenue, and had scarce left sufficient for the daily subsistence
 of himself and of his family; that, on his accession to the crown, he found a
 debt of above 300,000 pounds, contracted by his father, in support of the Pa-
 latine; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had himself, contracted debts notwith-
 standing his great frugality, to the amount of 100,000 pounds, which he had ex-
 pended intirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts,
 the King even condescended to use entreaties. He said, that this request was
 the first, which he had ever made them: that he was young and in the commence-
 ment of his reign; and, if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would en-
 dear to him the use of parliaments, and would, for ever, preserve an intire har-
 mony between him and his people.

To these reasons the commons remained inexorable. Notwithstanding that
 the King's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly
 demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obstinately refused any farther
 assistance. Some members, favourable to the court, having insisted on an addi-
 tion of two fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was denied;
 tho' it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want
 of pay and provisions. Besides all their other motives, the house of commons had
 made a new discovery, which enflamed them extremely against the court and
 against the Duke of Buckingham.

English Fleet defeated the Spanish armada, and caused that of France, by the assistance of French League, who were contrary bellers of naval force, with the civil war, and even armed with hand from the nobility. These two things had prevented they should easily attack the French, who being now well settled along to the Spanish assistance, were generally regarded with an eye of jealousy by the Kings of France and of England. When their vessels, by the assistance, arrived at Diepe, there arose a strong suspicion, that they were come to assist the Catholics. The French were assured, that such an error, was a great mistake, but excited and ignorant in all respects of religion, were at the same time malicious. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their port captain, and signing all their names in a circle, left he should deliver the remonstrance to the Lord Treasurer his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his liege prince, and the Protestants. The whole Squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There, they received an order from Buckingham, Lord admiral, to return to Diepe. But the Fleet were, that authority alone would not suffice, nor complied with the admiral's authority, to engage them to obedience; and a rumour, which was spread, that peace had been concluded between the French King and the English, assisted him in his purpose. When they arrived at Diepe, they found that they were well deceived. Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, took thro' and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great orders made them by the French, immediately returned. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his King to his alliance of religion, and he was afterwards killed in charging a French vessel with shot. The story, which historians have taken to record the French League, shows with what pleasure the news was received by the whole nation.

The hosts of discontent, when informed of such treacheries, found the same attachment with the nation for the protestant religion, and was thus and more strongly excited by reason and found policy. It was not long before that, the King of Spain was ready to announce as they thought, the French cause, from the only prince, who could oppose his projects, and master of the continent of Europe, this his power was at instant distance by the Spaniards, who being possessed of strong persons, and some of his best soldiers, found no difficulty to resist his enemies, and kept him in perpetual labour and consideration, that he had been, at this time, entirely and completely absorbed by the French, who being situated in their own strength, took advantage of the opportunity granted as subject, in order to come their rebellion, which French, according to their views, had ordered a squadron of twelve ships to join the

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French fleet, employed against the inhabitants of Rochelle; that the Spanish monarch, sensible of the same consequences, secretly supported the protestants in France; and that all princes had ever sacrificed, to reasons of state, the interest of their religion in foreign countries. All these obvious considerations had no influence. Great murmurs and discontents still prevailed in parliament. The Hugonots, tho' they had no ground of complaint against the French Court, were thought to be as much intitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken arms in defence of their liberties and religion against the persecuting rage of the catholics. And it plainly appears, from this incident, as well as from many others, that, of all European nations, the British were, at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit, which tends rather to inflame bigotry than encrease peace and mutual charity.

On this occasion, the commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons which had been granted to priests. They attacked Montague, one of the King's chaplains, on account of a moderate book, which he had lately composed, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and a compliant answer to all their remonstrances. He was, however, in his heart, extremely averse to these furious measures. Tho' a determined protestant, by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, was due by the nation to the religion of their ancestors. That degree of liberty, which is now indulged to catholics, tho' a party much more obnoxious than during the reign of the Stuarts; it suited neither with Charles's sentiments, nor the humour of the age, to allow them. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been proposed nor expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this Prince, that no measure, embraced during his whole reign, was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences.

The extreme rage against popery was a sure characteristic of puritanism. This house of commons discovered other insupportable symptoms of the prevailing party. They petitioned the King for replacing such able clergy as had been silenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies. They also enacted laws for the strict observance of Sunday, which the puritans affected to call the Sabbath, and which they sanctified by the most melancholy indolence. It is to be remarked, that the

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elected members. But this intention, being so evident, rather put the commons more upon their guard. Few of patriots still remained to keep up the ill humour of the house; and men needed but little instruction or rhetoric to recommend to them practices, which increased their own importance and consideration. The weakness of the court also could not more evidently appear, than by its being reduced to so ineffectual an expedient, in order to obtain an influence over the commons.

February 5.

THE views, therefore, of the last parliament were immediately adopted; as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened since their last meeting. When the King laid before the house his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and tho' they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, and ill fitted to promote those views of success and glory, for which the young Prince, in his first enterprize, so ardently longed. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under pretence of redressing grievances, which, during this short reign, could not be very numerous; they were to proceed in regulating and controuling every part of government, which displeased them: And, if the King either cut them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must lay his account with the want of all supply. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles with a method of treatment, which he deemed so harsh and undutiful: But his urgent necessities obliged him to submit; and he waited with patience, observing to what side they would turn themselves.

1626. March 1.
of the Duke of Buckingham.

THE Duke of Buckingham, formerly obnoxious to the public, became every day more odious, by the symptoms, which appear'd, both of his want of temper and prudence, and of the uncontrouled ascendant, which he had acquired over his master*. Two violent attacks he was obliged this session to sustain; one from the Earl of Bristol, another from the house of commons.

As long as James lived, Bristol, secure of the concealed favour of that monarch, had expressed all duty and obedience; in expectation, that an opportunity would offer of re-inflating himself in his former credit and authority.

Charles's

* His credit with the king had given him such influence, that he had no less than twenty promises granted him this parliament by so many peers; which occasioned a vote, that no peer should have above two promises. The earl of Leicester in 1555 had once ten promises. D'Awe, p. 314.

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never came to a full determination ; so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with regard to these articles : But it must be confessed, that the Duke's answer, in these particulars, as in all the rest, is so clear and satisfactory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it. His faults and blemishes were, in many respects, very great ; but rapacity and avarice were vices, with which he was intirely unacquainted.

'Tis remarkable, that the commons, tho' so much at a loss to find articles of charge against Buckingham, never adopted Bristol's accusation, or impeached the Duke for his conduct in the Spanish treaty, the most blameable circumstance of his whole life. He had reason to believe the Spaniards sincere in their professions; yet, in order to gratify his private passions, he had hurried his master and his country into a war pernicious to the interests of both. But so rivetted throughout the nation were the prejudices with regard to Spanish deceit and falshood, that very few of the commons seem, as yet, to have been convinced, that they had been seduced by Buckingham's narrative: A certain proof, that a discovery of this nature was not, as is imagined by several historians, the cause of so sudden and surprizing a variation in the measures of the parliament*.

WHILE the commons were thus warmly engaged against Buckingham, the King feared dangerous of embracing every opportunity, by which he could express a contempt and disregard for them. No one was, at that time, sufficiently sensible of the great weight, which the commons bore in the balance of the constitution.

The

The history of England had never hitherto afforded an instance, where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the lower house. And as their rank both considered in a body and as individuals, was but the second in the kingdom; nothing less than fatal experience could engage the English princes to pay a due regard to the inclinations of that formidable assembly.

THE Earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying about this time, Buckingham, tho' lying under impeachment, was yet, by means of court interit, chosen in his place. The commons resented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the King himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the Duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

THE Lord keeper, in the King's name, commanded the house expressly not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them, within a few days, the bill, which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must expect to sit no longer. And tho' these harsh commands were endeavoured to be explained and mollified, a few days afterwards, by a speech of Buckingham, they failed not to leave a very disagreeable impression behind them.

BESIDES a more stately style, which Charles, in general, affected to this parliament, than to the last, he went so far, in a message, as to threaten the commons, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he would be obliged to try *new counsels*. This language was sufficiently clear: Yet, lest any ambiguity should remain, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice chamberlain, took care to explain it. "I pray you consider," said he, "what these new counsels are or may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all christian kingdoms, you know, that parliaments were in use antiently, by which those kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand on their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments, throughout Christendom, except here only with us. — Let us be careful then to preserve the King's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth such happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his Majesty and the commons; lest we lose the repute of a free people by our turbulency in parliament." These imprudent suggestions rather gave warning than struck terror. A precious liberty, the commons thought, which was to be preserved by unlimited compliance, was no liberty at all. And it was not that, while yet in their power, to alter the constitution by such invasive barriers, that no king or minister

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should ever, for the future, dare to speak such a language to any parliament, or even to entertain such a project against them.

Two members of the house, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the Duke, were thrown into prison. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged, as the reason of this violent measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had, in their accusation of the Duke, dropped from these members. Upon inquiry, it appeared, that no such expressions had been used. The members were released; and the King reaped no farther benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the house still farther, and to show some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion.

MOVED by this example, the house of peers were roused from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitless evasions, the King, tho' somewhat ungracefully, was at last obliged to comply. And in this incident, it sufficiently appeared, that the lords, however little inclined to popular courses, were not wanting in a just sense of their own dignity.

THE ill humour of the commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, sought other materials, on which it might exert itself. The never failing cry of popery here served them in stead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against catholics; and they presented to the King a list of persons, entrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants. In this particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the King's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance: But he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine, that the parliament, when they failed of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, likewise, by these representations, was attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion: And the indulgence given to catholics, was of course supposed to proceed intirely from his credit and authority.

'Tis remarkable, that persecution was here chiefly pushed on by laymen; and that the church was willing to have granted more liberty than would be allowed by the commons. The reconciling doctrines likewise of Montague failed not anew to meet with severe censures from that zealous assembly.

THE next attack, made by the commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted near a half of the crown revenues; and by depriving the King of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependance. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Tho' they could fix no legal crime upon the Duke, they justly regarded him as a very unable and even dangerous minister; and they intended to present a petition, which would then have been equivalent to a command, for his removal from his Majesty's person and councils.

THE King was alarmed at the yoke, which he saw prepared for him. Buckingham's great guilt, he thought, was the being his friend and favourite. All the other complaints against him were mere pretences. A little before, he was the idol of the people. No new crime had since been discovered. After the most diligent inquiry, prompted by the greatest malice, the smallest appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he asked, must all mankind entertain of his honour, should he sacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary considerations? What farther authority would he retain in the nation, were he capable, in the beginning of his reign, to give, in so signal an instance, such matter of triumph to his enemies, and discouragement to his adherents? To-day, the commons pretended to wrest his minister from him. To-morrow, they would attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances and promises and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war. So soon as they saw a retreat impossible, without waiting for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonably supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To such deep perfidy, to such unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. And any extremity was preferable to the contempt of subjects, to the insults of mean adversaries.

PROMPTED by these motives, Charles was determined immediately to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour intitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to interpose; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to sit some time longer. *Not a moment longer*, cried the King hastily; and he soon afterwards dissolved this session by a dissolution.

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As this measure was foreseen, the commons took care to finish and disperse their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. The King likewise, on his part, published a declaration, where he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. These papers furnished the partizans on both sides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination. But all impartial men judged, “*That* the commons, tho’ they had not violated “any law, yet, by their unpliability and independence, were insensibly changing, perhaps improving, the spirit and genius, while they preserved the forms, “of the constitution: And *that* the King was acting altogether without any “plan; running on in a road, furrounded, on all sides, with the most dangerous precipices, and concerting no proper measures, either for submitting to “the obstinacy of the commons, or for subduing it.”

AFTER a breach with the parliament, which seemed so difficult to repair, the only rational council, which Charles could pursue, was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain, and to render himself, as far as possible, independent of his people, who discovered so little inclination to support him, or rather who seem to have formed a determined resolution to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy in the execution than this measure, nor more agreeable to his own and to national interest: But besides the treaties and engagements, which he had entered into with Holland and with Denmark, the King’s thoughts were, at this time, intirely averse to pacific councils. There are two circumstances in Charles’s character, seemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were in part the cause of all his misfortunes: He was very steady and even obstinate in his purpose; and he was easily governed, by reason of his facility, and of his deference to men, much inferior to himself both in morals and understanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: But, the means of attaining them, he readily received from his ministers and favourites; tho’ not always fortunate in his choice. The furious, impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries, which he himself had committed, and animated with a love for glory, which he had not talents to merit, had, at this time, notwithstanding his profuse, licentious life, acquired an invincible ascendant over the virtuous and gentle temper of the King.

Violent measures of the court.

THE *new councils*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Had he possessed any military force, on which he could depend, ’tis not improbable, that he had, at once, taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges: So high an idea had he received of kingly prerogative, and so contemptible a notion

notion of the rights of those popular assemblies, from which, he very rarely by himself, he had met with such assistance. But his army was now well equipped, and well disciplined; no wife superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were, in a great measure, under the influence of the most intelligent men. It was a shame, therefore, to protest cowardly, and to cover his enterprizes with the pretence of ancient precedents, which, contrary to the great authority commonly enjoyed by his predecessors, could not be wanting to him.

A commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and to sue for a suspension with the penal laws, enacted against them. By this expedient, the King both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving assistance to those religions: But he could not readily have employed any branch of prerogative, which would have been more disagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable to his protestant subjects.

From the nobility, he desired assistance: From the city, he required a loan of 100,000 pounds. The former contributed slowly: But the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave him at last a flat denial.

In order to equip a fleet, a distribution, by order of the Council, was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels, as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation, which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps farther, by Charles, created such violent discontents.

On some, loans were required: To others, the way of benevolence was proposed: Methods, supported by precedents, but always odious even in times more submissive and compliant. In the most absolute governments, such expedients would be regarded as irregular and disorderly.

These councils for supply were conducted with some moderation; till news arrived, that a great battle was fought, between the King of Denmark and Count Tilly, the imperial general; where the former was totally defeated. Money now, more than ever, became requisite, in order to recruit so great a breach in the alliance, and to support a prince who was so nearly related to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war, chiefly by the intrigues of France, and promises of the English monarch. Advice from different quarters, and an account was passed, importing, that, as the urgency of affairs admitted no time for deliberation, the most speedy, exact, and convenient method of supply was by a loan. An Act from the first parliament accordingly was directed to the

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rolls of the last subsidy. That precise sum was required, which each would have paid had the vote of four subsidies been passed into a law: But care was taken to inform the people, that the sums exacted were not to be called subsidies but loans. Had any doubt remained, that forced loans were a violation of liberty, and must, by necessary consequence, render all parliaments superfluous; this was the proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation.

THE commissioners, appointed to levy these loans, among other articles of secret instruction, were enjoined, "If any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and persist in his obstinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used to that purpose? And that they shall also charge every such person, in his Majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one, what his answer was." So violent an inquisitorial power, so impracticable an attempt at secrecy, were the objects of indignation, and even in some degree of ridicule.

THAT religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Manwaring, in favour of the general loan; and the court very industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of laws and constitutions were rejected as seditious and impious. So openly was this doctrine espoused by the King, that Archbishop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, because he would not licence Sibthorpe's sermon, was banished from London, and confined to one of his country-seats. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his opposition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a puritan. For 'tis remarkable, that that party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the church-party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people, who always take opinions in the lump, the whole system and principles of the former sect. The King soon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which, with so little necessity, was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him.

WHILE the King, instigated by anger and necessity, thus employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Throughout all England, many refused these loans, and some were even active
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in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council, *these* were thrown into prison. Most of them with patience submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the King, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone, Sir Thomas Darnley, Sir John Corbett, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Handbalden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberty, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. No particular cause was assigned of their confinement. The special command alone of the King and council was pleaded. And by law, it was asserted, this was not sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement to the prisoners.

This question was brought to a solemn trial, before the king's bench; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue of a cause, which was of much great consequence than the event of many battles. Novemb.

By the debates on this subject, it appeared, beyond controversy, to the nation, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power in the crown, by six or seven several statutes, and by an article of the GREAT CHARTER itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution. But the kings of England, who had not been able to prevent the enacting these laws, had sufficient authority, when the tide of liberty was spent, to hinder their regular execution; and they deemed it superfluous to attempt the formal repeal of statutes, which they found so many expedients and pretences to elude. Turbulent and seditious times frequently occurred, when the safety of the people absolutely required the confinement of factious leaders; and by the genius of the old constitution, the prince, of himself, was accustomed to assume every branch of prerogative, which was found necessary for the preservation of public peace and of his own authority. Expediency, at other times, would cover itself under the appearance of necessity; and, in proportion as precedents multiplied, the will alone of the sovereign was sufficient to supply the place of expediency, of which he constituted himself the sole judge. Tho' rebellious subjects had frequently, in the open field, resisted the King's authority; no person had been found so hardy, while confined and at mercy, as to set himself in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the laws and constitution, against the will of the sovereign. It was not till this age, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, when the principles of government were nearly reduced

Cap. I.
112.

113.

Novemb.

* 25 Edw. III. cap. 4. 26 Edw. III. cap. 5. 27 Edw. III. cap. 13. 28 Edw. III. cap. 14.
32 Edw. III. cap. 15. 1 Rich. II. cap. 12. 13 Rich. II. cap. 1.

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1627.

reduced to a system, that these five gentlemen above-mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the King was astonished to observe, that a power, exercised by his predecessors almost without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few or no undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. These had scarcely, in any instance, refused bail upon the commitments by special command of the king; because the persons committed had seldom or never dared to demand it.

SIR Randolph Crew, Lord chief justice, had been displaced, as unfit for the purposes of the court: Sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that high office: Yet the judges, by his direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to their prisons, and refuse the bail, which was offered. Heathe, the attorney-general, insisted, that the court should enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the King or council: But the judges wisely declined complying. The nation, they saw, were already, to the last degree, exasperated. In the present disposition of men's minds, universal complaints prevailed, as if the kingdom were reduced to slavery. And the most invidious prerogative of the crown, it was said, that of imprisoning the subject, is here, openly, and solemnly, and in numerous instances, exercised for the most invidious purpose; in order to extort loans, or rather subsidies, without consent of parliament.

BUT this was not the only hardship, of which the nation then found reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, were dispersed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon the counties, for the payment of their quarters.

THE soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom, which required, that, in all ordinary cases, they should be quartered in inns and public houses.

THOSE, who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a greater number of these dangerous and disorderly guests.

MANY too, of low condition, who had shown a refractory disposition, were pressed into the service, and enlisted in the fleet or army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the same reason, was dispatched into the Palatinate: Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy.

THE soldiers, ill-paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages; and increased extremely the public discontents. To prevent these disorders, martial law, so requisite to the support of discipline, was exercised upon the soldiers.

By

By a contradiction, which is very natural, when the people are exasperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought still more intolerable. Tho' the expediency, if we are not rather to say, the necessity, of martial law, had formerly been deemed, of itself, a sufficient ground for establishing it; men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reasoners in questions of government, regarded, as illegal and arbitrary, every exercise of authority, which was not supported by express statute, or uninterrupted precedent.

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1527.

It may safely be affirmed, that, except a few courtiers or ecclesiasties, all men were displeased with this high exertion of prerogative, and this new spirit of administration. Tho' antient precedents were pleaded, in favour of the King's measures; a great difference, upon comparison, was observed between the cases. Acts of power, however irregular, might casually and at intervals, be exercised by a prince, for the sake of dispatch or expediency; and yet liberty still subsist, in some tolerable degree, under his administration. But where all these were reduced into a system, were exerted without interruption, were studiously sought for, in order to supply the place of laws, and subdue the refractory spirit of the nation; it was necessary to find some speedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution. Nor could moderate men esteem the provocation, which the King had received, tho' great, sufficient to warrant all these violent measures. The commons, as yet, had no way invaded his authority: They had only exercised, as best pleased them, their own privileges. Was he excusable, because, from one house of parliament, he had met with harsh and unkind treatment, to make, in revenge, an invasion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation?

But great was at this time the surprize of all men, when Charles, baffed in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures; as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, was not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess; wantonly attacked France, the other great kingdom in his neighbourhood, and engaged at once in war against those two powers, whose interest was hitherto esteemed so incompatible, that they could never, it was thought, agree either in the same friendships or enmities. All authentic memoirs, both foreign and domestic, ascribe to Buckingham's councils this war with France, and represent him, as actuated by motives, which would appear incredible, were we not sufficiently acquainted with the extreme violence and temerity of his character.

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THE three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves and of their kingdoms to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The people, whom the moderate temper or narrow genius of their princes, would have allowed to remain for ever in tranquillity, were strongly agitated by the emulation and jealousy of the ministers. Above all, the towering spirit of Richelieu, incapable of rest, promised an active age, and gave indications of great revolutions throughout all Europe.

THIS man had no sooner, by suppleeness and intrigue, got possession of the reins of government, than he formed, at once, three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active; no opposition of the French princes or nobles could withstand his vengeance, no cabals could escape his penetration. His sovereign himself, he held in subjection, while he exalted the throne. The people, while they lost their liberties, acquired, by means of his administration, learning, order, discipline, and renown. That confused and inaccurate genius of government, which France partook in common with other European kingdoms, he changed into a simple monarchy; at the very time, when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free spirit of the commons to establish in England a regular system of liberty.

HOWEVER unequal the comparison between these ministers, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealousy against Richelieu; a jealousy not founded on rivalry of power and politics, but of love and gallantry; where the Duke was as much superior to the Cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

AT the time, when Charles married by proxy the Princess Henrietta, the Duke of Buckingham was dispatched into France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new Queen into England. The eyes of the whole French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favour of two successive monarchs, and who, from a private station, had mounted, in the earliest youth, to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The extreme beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendor of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals, and carrousels, corresponded to the prepossessions, entertained in his favour: The affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expence, increased still farther the general admiration, which was paid him. All business being already concerted, the time was intirely

spent

spent in mirth and entertainment; and, during those idle hours, among that gay people, the Duke found himself in a situation, where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addresses to the Queen herself; and he failed not to make impression on a heart not undispoted to the tender passions. That attachment, at least, of the mind, which appears so delicious, and is so dangerous, seems to have been encouraged by the Prince; and the Duke presumed so far on her good graces, that, at his departure, he secretly returned upon some pretence, and, paying a visit to the Queen, was dismissed with a reproof, which favoured more of kindness than of anger.

Information of this correspondence was soon carried to Richelieu. The vigilance of that minister was here farther roused by jealousy. He too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addresses to the Queen. But a priest, past middle age, of a severe character, and occupied in the most extensive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that contest, for a young courtier, intirely disposed to gaiety and gallantry. The Cardinal's disappointment strongly inclined him to counter-work the amorous projects of his rival. When the Duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Louis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion, he swore, *That he would see the Queen, in spite of all the power of France*; and, from that moment, he was determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He first took advantage of some quarrels, excited by the Queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss, at once, all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels, belonging to French merchants; and *they* he forthwith condemned as prizes by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding, that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France; he resolved to second the intrigues of the Duke of Soultize, and to undertake at once a military expedition against that nation.

SOUTIZE, who, with his brother, the Duke of Rohan, was the leader of the hugonot faction, was at that time in London, and strongly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of these distressed religionists. He represented, That, after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been oppressed by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, after peace was concluded with the French King under

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Charles's mediation, the ambitious Cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and considered him as a prince engaged by interest, as well as inclination, to support them; that, as long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their obedience, as much as on that of his own subjects; but, if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring nations.

9th of July.

Expedition to
the isle of
Rhé.

THO' Charles probably bore but small favour to the hugonots, who so much resembled the puritans, in discipline and worship, in religion and politics; he yet allowed himself to be gained by these arguments, enforced by the solicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of 7000 men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of the Duke, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea-service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle: But so ill-concerted were the Duke's measures, that the inhabitants of the city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. All his military operations showed equal incapacity and inexperience. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified: Having landed his men, tho' with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Toiras, the French governor, five days respite; during which St. Martin was victualed and provided for a siege: He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no manner of resistance: Tho' resolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it: Despairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers: Having found, that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prie, the fort, which he had, at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: He was the last, of the whole army, that embarked; and he returned to England, having lost two thirds of his land-forces; totally discredited both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praise with him, but that vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

28th of October.

THE Duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as soon as Buckingham appeared upon the coast, discovered the dangerous spirit of the sect, without being able to

do

do any mischief: The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had, at last, been induced to join themselves to the English, hastened the vengeance of their master, exhausted their provisions in supplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate siege. Such were the fruits of Buckingham's expedition against France.

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1627.

C H A P. II.

Third parliament.—Petition of right.—Prorogation.—Death of Buckingham.—New session of parliament.—Tonnage and poundage.—Arminianism.—Dissolution of the parliament.

THEIR was reason to apprehend some disorder or insurrection from the discontent, which prevailed among the people. Their liberties, they believed, were ravished from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a severe check from the Spanish, was totally annihilated by the French war; those military honours, transmitted to them from their ancestors, had received a grievous stain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; scarce an illustrious family but mourned, from the loss of them, the loss of a son or brother; greater calamities were dreaded from the war with these powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal disorders, under which the nation laboured. And these ills were ascribed, not to the refractory disposition of the two former parliaments, to which they were partly owing; but solely to Charles's obstinacy, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham; a man no wise entitled, by his birth, age, services, or merit, to that unlimited confidence, reposed in him. To be sacrificed to the interest, policy, and ambition of the great, is so much the common lot of the people, that they may appear unreasonable, who would pretend to complain of it: But to be the victim of the frivolous gallantry of a favourite, and of his boyish caprices, seemed the subject of peculiar indignation.

1628.

In this situation, it may be imagined, the King and the Duke dreaded, above all things, the assembling a parliament: But, if Charles might had they possessed in their enterprising schemes, that they found themselves under an absolute necessity of embracing that expedient. The money levied, or rather extorted, under pretence of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-hu-

mour.

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1728.

mour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment. The absolute necessity of supply, it was hoped, would engage the commons to forget all past injuries; and, having experienced the ill effects of former obduracy, they would probably assemble with a resolution of making some reasonable compliances. The more to soften them, it was concerted, by Sir Robert Cotton's advice, that Buckingham should be the first person, who proposed in council the calling a new parliament. Having laid in this stock of merit, he expected, that all his former misdemeanors would be overlooked and forgiven, and that, instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he should be regarded as the first patriot in the nation.

Third Par-
liament.

March 17.

THE views of the popular leaders were much more judicious and profound. When the commons assembled, they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers; they were deputed by burroughs and counties, inflamed, all of them, by the late violations of liberty; many of the members themselves had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; yet, notwithstanding all these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. They considered, that the King, disgusted at these popular assemblies, and little prepossessed in favour of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretence of breaking with them, and would seize the first opportunity offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members. He fairly told them, in his first speech, that, "If they should not
" do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in dis-
" charge of his conscience, use those other means, which God had put into his
" hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men may
" otherwise put in danger. Take not this for a threatening," added the King,
" for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him,
" who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity." The Lord keeper, by the King's direction, subjoined, "This way of parlia-
" mentary supplies, as his Majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only
" way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it
" is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to
" the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword
" of the enemy make way to the others. Remember his Majesty's admonition;
" I say, remember it." From these avowed maxims, the commons foresaw, that, if the least handle was afforded, the King would immediately dissolve them, and thenceforward deem himself justified for violating, in a manner still more

open all the antient forms of the constitution. No remedy could then be looked for, but from insurrections and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and which must, in all events, prove in a very calamitous to the whole nation. To correct the late disorders in the administration required some new laws, which would, no doubt, appear harsh to a prince, so enamoured of his prerogatives; and it was requisite to temper, by the decency and moderation of their debates, the rigour, which must necessarily attend their corrections. Nothing can give us a higher idea of the capacity of those men, who now guided the commonwealth, and of the great authority, which they had acquired, than the forming and executing so judicious and so difficult a plan of operations.

The decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others, hindered them not from making the loud and most vigorous complaints against the grievances, under which the nation had lately laboured. Sir Francis Seymour said, “ This is the great council of the
“ kingdom, and here with certainty, if not here only, his Majesty may see, as
“ in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are all called hither by his
“ writs, in order to give him faithful counsel; such as may stand with his ho-
“ nour: And this we must do without flattery. We are all sent hither by the
“ people, in order to deliver their just grievances: And this we must do without
“ fear. Let us not act like Cambyses’s judges, who, when their approbation was
“ demanded by the prince to some illegal measure, said, that, *Yes, there was a*
“ *law, according to which the Persian kings might do as our ears will and pleasure.* This was
“ bare flattery, sifter for our reproach than our imitation; and as fear, so flattery,
“ taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my
“ mind with as much duty, as any man, to his majesty, without neglecting the
“ publick.

“ But how can we express our affections, while we retain our terrors; or speak
“ of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give. For, if his Ma-
“ jesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give?

“ That this hath been done, appears clearly by the hiring of soldiers, a thing
“ now so odious to the king’s service, and a burthen to the commonwealth.
“ By the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing to follow him, who, if they had done
“ the contrary for him, had been as troublesome as the predators of that oppressive
“ revenue. To countenance these proceedings, hath not the parliament, in the
“ petition, or rather prayer, that *the king should be a lover of peace.* But
“ when preachers to take their own earnings, and turn preachers themselves, we are
“ now willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a little more.

“ II.

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1628.

“ HE, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and cheerfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension.”

“ I read of a custom,” said Sir Robert Philips, “ among the old Romans, that, once every year, they held a solemn festival, at which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds ; and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves severally returned to their former servitudes.

“ THIS institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, at last, as those slaves, obtained, for a day, some liberty of speech : But shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves : For we are born free. Yet, what new illegal burthens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue falters to utter.—————

“ THE grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads ; acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty.”

HAVING mentioned three illegal judgments, passed within his memory ; that by which the Scotch, born after James’s accession, were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects ; that by which the new impositions had been warranted ; and the last, by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorized ; he thus proceeded.

“ I CAN live, tho’ another, who has no right, be put to live along with me ; nay, I can live, tho’ burthened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under : But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me ; to have my person pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,——O ! improvident ancestors ! O ! unwise forefathers ! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands and the liberties of parliament ; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy ! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties ? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about

“about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may
“any man call his own, it not the liberty of all person?”

Chap. II.
1629.

this concession. The Duke's approbation too was mentioned by Secretary Coke; but the conjunction of a subject with the sovereign was ill received by the house. Tho' disgusted with the King, the jealousy, which they felt for his honour, was more sensible than that, which his unbounded confidence in the Duke would allow even himself to entertain.

THE supply, tho' voted, was not, as yet, passed into a law; and the commons resolved to employ the interval, in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties, so lately violated. They knew, that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not, of itself, sufficient authority to secure the constitution against all future invasion. Some act to that purpose must receive the sanction of the whole legislature; and they appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a law. By collecting into one effort all the dangerous and oppressive claims of his prerogative, Charles had exposed them to the hazard of one assault; and had farther, by presenting a nearer view of the consequences attending them, roused the independent genius of the commons. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial law; these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges: They aimed only at securing those transmitted them from their ancestors: And their law they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the antient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

Petition of
right.

WHILE the committee was employed in framing the petition of right, the favourers of each party, both in parliament and throughout the nation, were engaged in disputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable era in the English government.

THAT the statutes, said the partizans of the commons, which secure English liberty, are not become obsolete, appears hence, that the English have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited constitution. Privileges in particular, which are founded on the GREAT CHARTER, must always remain in force, because derived from a source of never failing authority; regarded in all ages, as the most sacred contract between king and people. Such attention was paid to this charter by our generous ancestors, that they got the confirmation of it, in favour of liberty several times: and even secured it by a law, which seems in the execution impracticable. They enacted, *That no statute, which should be afterwards inserted in parliament to any article of that charter, should ever have any force or validity.* But with regard to that important article, which secures personal liberty,

liberty; so far from attempting, at any time, any illegal infringement of it, they have corroborated it by six statutes, and put it out of all doubt and controversy. It in practice it has not, and never will, be, can never be, nor is it possible of nature; nor can any right or legal power be derived from injury and violence. But the subject's title to personal liberty is not founded only on nature, and therefore, the more have I said. It is confirmed by the whole structure of the government and constitution. A true monarchy, in which every individual is a subject, is a *perpetual* contradiction; and this requires, where the laws *impose* privileges on the subjects on one side of the law, that it likewise secure the *liberty* even of all the monarchs. If any difference could be made in this particular, it were better to *abolish* the title of property to the arbitrary will of the prince; nor would *such* government can prevent, from that concession, to the laws and to the privileges of the people. To *claim* of his life a man not condemned on any legal trial, is to *exercise* an exercise of tyranny, as much at once shock the natural humanity of princes, and convey an alarm through the whole commonwealth. To *condemn* a man's fortune, besides its being a most atrocious violence, excites the monarch to resort to the irritation of avarice and rapacity, that it will seldom be attempted in any civilized government. But confinement, tho' a less striking, is a less severe a punishment; nor is there any spirit, to erect and independent, as not to be broke by the long continuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail. The power of imprisonment, therefore, being the most natural and potent engine of arbitrary government, it is absolutely necessary to remove it from a government, which is true and legal.

But partizans of the court reasoned after a different manner. The true rule of government, said they, during our period, is that to which the people, from their human nature, have been accustomed, and to which they naturally pay a prompt obedience. A practice, which has ever shock their ideas, and of which they have seen and heard innumerable precedents, has an authority with them nearly equal to that which attends maxims derived from antiquated statutes and newly received. To vain do the lawyers establish it as a principle, that a statute can never be altered by opposite customs; the request to be expressly opposed by contrary custom. While they pretend to insist on its being peculiar to England, I profess, they violate the most established principle of justice, nature, and even, by asserting *unjustness*, to demand a punishment less severe, which can you suppose, as to sound and be visible. A law is but a *paper* authority, not a *substantial* one; the former is but the *form*. And what is the *substance* of the law, but the *will* of the prince? And from his *will* can we expect that he will be so much as to *abolish* a law, which he has already made? And what is the *substance* of the law, but the *will* of the prince? And from his *will* can we expect that he will be so much as to *abolish* a law, which he has already made?

Char. II.
1628.

either from the violence of faction, or the inexperience of senates and princes; it cannot be more effectually abrogated, than by a train of contrary precedents, which prove, that, from common consent, it has tacitly been set aside, as inconvenient and impracticable. Such has been the case with all those statutes enacted during turbulent times, in order to confirm royal prerogative, and cramp the sovereign in his protection of the public, and his execution of the laws. But above all the branches of prerogative, that which is most necessary to be preserved, is the power of imprisonment. Faction and discontent, like diseases, frequently arise in every political body; and, during these disorders, 'tis by the salutary exercise alone of this discretionary power, that rebellions and civil wars can be prevented. To circumscribe this power, is to destroy its nature: Entirely to abrogate it, is impracticable; and the attempt itself must prove dangerous, if not pernicious to the public. The supreme magistrate, in critical and turbulent times, will never, conformable either to prudence or duty, allow the state to perish, while there remains a remedy, which, however irregular, it is still in his power to apply. And if, moved by a regard to public good, he employs any exercise of power, condemned by recent and express statute; how greedily, in such dangerous times, will factious leaders seize such a pretence of throwing on his government the imputation of tyranny and despotism? Were the alternative quite necessary, it were surely much better for human society to be destitute of liberty than to be deprived of government.

IMPARTIAL reasoners will confess, that this subject is not, on both sides, without its difficulties. Where a general and rigid law is enacted against arbitrary imprisonments, it would appear, that government cannot, in times of sedition and faction, be conducted but by temporary suspensions of the law; and such an expedient, during the age of Charles, was never thought of. The meetings of parliament were too precarious, and their determinations might be too dilatory, to serve in cases of urgent necessity. Nor was it then conceived, that the authority of these assemblies was ever to become so absolute, that the prince must always conform himself to it, and could never have any occasion to guard against *their* practices, as well as against those of his other subjects.

Tho' the house of lords were not insensible to the reasons urged in favour of the pretensions of the commons, they deemed the arguments, pleaded in favour of the crown, still more cogent and convincing. That assembly seems, during this whole period, to have acted, in the main, a reasonable and a moderate part; and if their byas inclined a little too much, as is natural, to the side of monarchy, they were far from entertaining any design of sacrificing to arbitrary will the liberties and privileges of the nation. Ashley, the King's serjeant, having asserted,

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SECRETARY Coke, who delivered this message, after some preamble, and some apology for past grievances, proceeded in this manner. "When means were denied his Majesty, being a young king and newly come to the crown, which he found engaged in a war; what could we expect in such necessities? His Majesty has called this parliament to make up the breach: His Majesty assures us, that we shall not have like cause to complain: He assures us, that the laws shall be established. What can we desire more? The important point is, that we provide for posterity, and prevent the like practices for the future. Were not the same means provided by them before us? Can we do more? We stand at present on the confines between the liberty of the subject and the prerogatives of the King. I hope, that we shall not pretend to add any thing for ourselves, in order to depress him. I will not divine: Yet I think, that, in such pretensions, we shall find difficulty with the King; nay, perhaps, with the lords. For my part, I shall not, as counsellor to his Majesty, deliver any opinion, which I will not openly declare and justify, here, or at the council-board. Will we, in this necessity, strive to bring ourselves into a better condition and greater liberty than our fathers enjoyed, and reduce the crown to a worse than ever? I dare not advise his Majesty to give way to such measures. What we now desire, if it be no innovation, is all contained in those acts and statutes; and whatever more we shall add is a diminution to the King's power, and an accession to our own. We deal with a wise and valiant prince, who hath a sword in his hand for our good; and this good cannot be attained without power. Do not think, that, by parliamentary debates, or even by clauses of statutes, we can make that to be unlawful, which, by experience, we have found to be derived from necessity, and from a necessity so urgent, that it admits not of remedy from any law.—And I beseech you to consider, whether those, who have been in the same place, which I now occupy, have not freely given warrants for commitment; and yet, no doubt, been entertained, nor any complaint made by the subject."

Upon this speech there arose a great debate in the house. Many reasons were anew urged on both sides: But, Sir Thomas Wentworth closed the debate, by saying, "That never house of parliament, so far as regarded themselves, trusted more than the present to the goodness of their king: But we are ambitious," said he, "that his Majesty's goodness may remain to posterity, and we are accountable for a public trust. There hath been a public violation of the laws by the King's ministers; and nothing can satisfy the nation but a public reparation. Our desire to vindicate the subject's right by bill, will carry us no farther than that what is contained in former laws, with some modest provision for in-

"frustration."

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1924.

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“ That neither he nor his privy council shall or will, at any time hereafter, com-
“ mit or command to prison, or otherways restrain, any man for not lending
“ money, or for any other cause, which, in his conscience, he thought not to
“ concern the public good, and the safety of king and people.” And he farther
declared, “ That he never would be guilty of so base an action as to pretend any
“ cause, of whose truth he was not fully satisfied.” But this promise, tho’ in-
forced to the commons by the recommendation of the upper house, made no more
impression than all the former messages.

AMONG the other evasions of the King, we may reckon the proposal of the
house of peers, to subjoin, to the intended petition of right, the following
clause, “ We humbly present this petition to your Majesty, not only with a
“ care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave intire
“ that *foreign power*, with which your Majesty is trusted for the protection,
“ safety, and happiness of your people.” Less penetration, than what was pos-
sessed by the leaders of the house of commons, could easily discover how captious
this clause was, and how much it was calculated to elude the whole force of the
petition.

THESE obstacles, therefore, being surmounted, the petition of right passed
the commons, and was sent to the upper house*. The peers, who were prob-
ably

This petition is of so great importance, that we shall here give it at length. Humbly shew unto
our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lord’s spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assem-
bled, That, whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the time of the reign of King
Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tollage or aid shall be laid or
levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bi-
shops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the community of this realm;
And, by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III.
it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no person should be compelled to make any
loan to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the
land: And, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge
or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge: By which the statutes before mentioned,
and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that
they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tollage, aid, or other like charge, but only by
common consent in parliament.

II. Yet notwithstanding, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners and counsellors,
with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been to them called, assembled,
and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and remain in them, upon their re-
fusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warranted by the law or statutes of
this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance be-
fore your privy council, and, in other places, and others of them, have been thereby imprisoned,
confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: And divers other charges have been laid

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1628.

chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise, and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The King willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative."

It is surprizing, that Charles, who had seen so many instances of the jealousy of the commons, who had himself so much roused that jealousy by his frequent evasive messages during this session, could imagine, that they would remain satisfied with an answer so vague and undetermined. It was evident, that the unusual form alone of the answer must excite their attention; that the disappointment must inflame

death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed:

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forbore to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: Which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm:

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament: And that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherways molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: And that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come: And that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: And that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: And that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, That, in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom. *Stat. 17 Car. cap. 14.*

to blame their anger; and that therefore it was necessary, as the petition failed to bear hard on royal prerogative, to come early to some fixed resolution, either gracefully to comply with it, or courageously to reject it.

It happened, as might have been foreseen. The commons returned in very ill-humour. Usually, when in that disposition, their zeal and industry for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate catholics, ran extremely high. But they had already, in the beginning of the session, presented to the King their petition of pardon, and had received a satisfactory answer; tho' they expected, that the execution of the laws against papists would, for the future, be no more exact and strict, than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their present indignation, they set, with their utmost force, on Dr. Manwaring.

Prudence is nothing, which tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles, as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by special command from the King; and, when this sermon was looked into, it contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, That, tho' property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet, whenever any exigency required supply, all property was transferred to the king; that the consent of parliament was not requisite for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which the prince should make upon his subjects. For these doctrines, the commons impeached Manwaring before the peers. The sentence, pronounced upon him, was, That he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined a thousand pounds to the King, make full restitution and acknowledgement for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book be called in and burnt.

It may be worth notice, that, no sooner was the session ended, than this man, formerly inamenable to both houses, received a pardon, and was presented to a living of considerable value. Some years after, he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. In the republican spirit of the commons increased, beyond all bounds, the monarchial spirit of the court; this first, enlarged to such a pitch, tended still further to augment the former. And thus extremes meet every where affected, and that last medium was gradually destroyed by all means.

On Manwaring, the house of commons proceeded to make the conduct of Buckingham, who, since hitherto, they had considered as their most dangerous enemy, and the King send them a message, by which he told them, that the Commons were wrong in their conclusion; and desired, that they would not proceed

CHAS. II. 1628. on new business, nor cast any aspersions on his government and ministry. The court endeavoured to explain and soften the message by a subsequent message; as Charles was apt hastily to correct any hasty step, which he had taken; it served rather to inflame than appease the commons: As if the method of their proceeding had here been prescribed to them. It was foreseen, that a great tempest was ready to burst on the Duke; and in order to divert it, the King thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to endeavour the giving them satisfaction, with regard to the petition of right. He came, therefore, to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, *Let it be law as is desired*, gave full sanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations, with which the house resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, showed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations.

It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the King's assent to the petition of right produced such a change in the government, as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing, in so many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject. Yet were the commons far from being satisfied with this important concession. Their ill humour had been so much irritated by the King's frequent evasions and delays, that it could not be presently appeased by an assent, which he allowed to be so ungracefully extorted from him. Perhaps too, the popular leaders, implacable and artful, saw the opportunity favourable; and turning against the King those very weapons, with which he had furnished them, resolved to pursue the victory. The bill, however, for five subsidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the house; because the granting that supply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal assent to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther confidence could have subsisted between King and parliament. Having made this concession, the commons continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. In some particulars, their industry was laudable; in some, it was liable to censure.

A little after writs were issued for summoning this parliament, a commission had been granted to Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord keeper, the Earl of Marlborough, high treasurer, the Earl of Manchester, Lord president of the council, the Earl of Worcester, privy seal, the Duke of Buckingham, high admiral, and all the considerable officers of the crown, in the whole thirty three. By this commission, which, from the number of persons named in it, could be no secret, the commissioners were empowered to meet, and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise; *Where form and circumstance,*

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1627.
Prorogation

26th of June

It was not without good grounds, that the commons was so fierce and assuming. Tho' they had already granted the King the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which, they thought, ensured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly esteemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of all the antient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted. The King, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation.

BEING freed, for some time, from the embarrassment of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally unsuccessful, as in his domestic government. The Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was dispatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea: But he returned without effecting any thing; and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation, either of cowardice or ill conduct. In order to repair this dishonour, the Duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies, given by parliament, had been expended. This supply had very much disappointed the King's expectations. The same mutinous spirit, which prevailed in the house of commons, had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners, appointed for making the assessments, had connived at all frauds, which might diminish the supply, and reduce the crown to still greater necessities. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event, which may be considered as very remarkable.

THERE was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had served under the Duke, in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the Isle of Rhé, Felton had solicited for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his sullen, unsociable mind, he heard the nation reform'd with complaints against the Duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the commons, in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism further inflamed these vindictive reflections; and he resolved, that he would do heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he dispatched this

this dangerous free to religion and to his country. But on the 14th of March, he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the Duke, and was engaged in opportunity of effecting his liberty purpose.

Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with the French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiments having arisen on the subject, that character with temper and decency, had produced some of those violent exclamations and lively exertions of voice, in which that nation never loses the least opportunity to indulge themselves. The conversation being finished, the Duke drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to Mr Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was, on the sudden, over the Duke's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering a word, than *Heaven has killed me*; in the same moment, pulling out the knife, he breathed his last.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person, who gave it; but in the confusion, every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed, that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood, by the bystanders. In the hurry of revenge, they had instantly been put to death, had they not been saved by those of more temper and judgment, who, tho' they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial and examination.

Near the door, there was found a hat, in the inside of which was found a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short conclusion or attempt towards a prayer. It was easily concluded, that this hat belonged to the assassin: But the difficulty still remained; *Whose was the handwriting?* For the writing discovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was agreed to believe, that he had already did his enough, not to be found with arms in his hand.

In the evening, a man without a hat and with a willow, very comely, having the Duke's One coming out, *That is the person who killed the Duke*; every body ran to catch him, *What is he?* The man very politely answered, *I am not*. The more noisy immediately rushed upon him with armed hands; Others, more moderate, checked and protected him. He turned round, *you are all very good*; and the staff exposed his sword to the fourth of the most courageous being, *It is my will to kill a fellow creature to this point, rather than be delivered by that public justice, which he now must be executed upon him*.

He was now known to be that Fellow, who had served in the army. Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper to tar to condemn, as usual,

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him, that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, that the Duke, he knew full well, had received a blow, which had terminated all their hopes. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? He answered, that they needed not to trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat was found: For that, believing he would perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

WHEN the King was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the courtiers, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a minister, so generally odious to the nation. But Charles's command of himself proceeded intirely from the gravity and composure of his temper. He was still, as much as ever, attached to his favourite; and, during his whole life, he retained an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged too, that Felton should be put to the question, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices: But the judges declared, that, tho' that practice had been formerly very usual, it was altogether illegal. So much more exact reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the house of commons.

WHILE the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. That vast genius of Richelieu, which made him form the greatest enterprizes, led him to attempt their execution, by means equally great and extraordinary. In order to deprive Rochelle of all succour, he had dared to project the throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, tho' pressed with the greatest rigours of famine, still refused to submit; being supported, partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of assistance from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the Earl of Lindseth; who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break thro' the mole, and force his way into the town: But by the delays of the English, that work was now fully frustrated and mortified; and the blockaders, finding their last hopes to fail them, were ready to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral. Of a good garrison, who had been shut up in the town, 4000 alone survived the frigors and wounds, which they had undergone.

THIS

This was the first necessary step towards the prosperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domestic factions, being deprived of this resource, that kingdom began now to shine forth in its full splendor. By a steady prosecution of wise plans, both of war and policy, it gradually gained an ascendancy over the rival power of Spain; and every order of the state, and every sect, were reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign. The victory, however, over the hugonots was, at first, pushed by the French King with great moderation. A toleration was still continued to them; the only avowed and open toleration, which, at that time, was granted in any European kingdom.

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The failure of an enterprize, in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the King's authority in the parliament during the approaching session: But the commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint. Buckingham's conduct and character with some had afforded a reason, with others a pretence, for discontent against public measures: But after his death, there wanted not new reasons and new pretences for general dissatisfaction. Manwaring's pardon and promotion were taken notice of: Sibthorpe and Cofins, two clergymen, who, for like reasons, were equally disagreeable to the commons, had met with equal favour from the King: Montague, who had been censured for moderation to the catholics, the greatest of crimes, had been created Bishop of Chichester. They found, likewise, upon inquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had, by the King's orders, annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the commons: An expedient of Charles, by which he endeavoured to persuade the people, that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions, and that his prerogative was yet entire. Selden also complained in the house, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber. So apt were they, on their part, to push the petition into such consequences as might deprive the crown of powers, which, from immemorial custom, were supposed inherent in it.

1625.

Parliament
New Session
1625.

But the great article, on which the house of commons broke with the King, and which finally created in Charles a disgust to all parliaments, was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage. On this occasion, therefore, it is necessary to give an account of the controversy.

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Tonnage and
Poundage.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of the parliament: but it had been continued on Henry VI. and all the succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them

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to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. The necessity of levying this duty had been so apparent, that each king had ever claimed it from the moment of his accession; and the first parliament of each reign had ever by vote, conferred on the prince what they found him already in possession of. Agreeable to the inaccurate genius of the old constitution, this abuse, however considerable, had never been perceived nor remedied; tho' nothing could have been easier than for the parliament to have prevented it. By granting this duty to each prince, during his own life, and, for a year after his decease, to the successor, all inconveniences had been obviated; and yet the duty had never, for a moment, been levied without proper authority. But contrivances of that nature were not thought of during those rude ages: And as so complicated and jealous a government as the English cannot subsist without many such refinements; it is easy to see, how favourable every inaccuracy must formerly have proved to royal authority, which, on all emergencies, was obliged to supply, by discretionary power, the great deficiency of the laws.

DURING that short interval, which elapsed, between Charles's accession and his first parliament, he had followed the example of his predecessors; and no fault was found with his conduct in this particular. But what was most remarkable in the proceedings of that house of commons, and what proved beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan for reducing their prince to dependance, was, that, instead of granting this supply during the King's life, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predecessors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing or refusing the same concession. But the house of peers, who saw that this duty was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, and who did not approve of this encroaching spirit of the commons, rejected the bill; and the dissolution of that parliament followed so soon after, that no attempt seems to have been made for the obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form*.

CHARLES, mean while, continued still to levy these duties by his own authority; and the nation was so accustomed to this exertion of royal power, that no scruple

* The reason assigned by Sir Philip Warwick, for this unusual measure of the commons, is, that they intended to deprive the crown of the prerogative, which it had assumed, of taxing on imposition; and, at the same time, were resolved to cut off the revenue of the crown by June. There were considerable dissensions both of revenue and prerogative, and whether they should have these done, considered their present disposition, may appear somewhat uncertain. The King, it seems, and the lords, were resolved not to trust them; nor to suffer revenue once precarious, which perhaps they might nevertheless have been able to get re-established on the old footing.

for petitioning, and for petitioning the king. But the preceding parliament ended without success. The commons made there some steps towards declaring themselves independent and perpetual without dissolution of parliament, and they took some such resolution of employing this course, in order to cut it from the common complaints of the most important nature. But Charles was not yet sufficiently tired to compliance; and the abrupt dissolution of that parliament, as above related, put an end, for the time, to their farther pretensions.

The short winter interval, between the second and third parliament, was distinguished by too many extraordinary exertions of prerogative, that men had little leisure to attend to this affair of tonnage and poundage, where the abuse of power in the crown might seem to be of a more disputable nature. But after the commons, during the precedent session, had remedied all these grievances by means of their petition of right, which was become so necessary; they afterwards proceeded to take this matter into consideration, and they showed the same intention, as formerly, of exacting, in return for the grant of this revenue, very large compliances on the part of the crown. Their sudden prerogation prevented them from bringing their pretensions to a full conclusion.

When Charles opened this session, he had foreseen, that the same controversy would arise; and he therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expressions, to inform the commons, “That he had not taken their charter as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people: And that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right, which he claimed.” This confession, which probably proceeded from the King’s sincere temper, now rendered him the impulse of Buckingham’s violent passions, might have satisfied the commons, had they entertained no other view, than that of asserting their charter and privileges. But they turned their pretensions more distant. They insisted, as before, in preliminary, that the King should once entreat, desist from laying on that duty, after which they were to take into consideration how far they could be bound to the satisfaction of a revenue, of which he had already dispossessed them. Insisting, that this extreme rigor had never been intended to be put in execution, and many obvious prejudices, and perhaps a interest, were in favour of the commons; that, with other reasons, which were not Charles’s own, he should be prevailed on to desist. These petitions, demands, and requests, continued till the parliament was dissolved, without any success; and thereby the commons were obliged to spend several very costly sittings, without effect of all the

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1629.

new impositions, which Mary and Elizabeth, but especially James, had levied; and which formed no despicable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had, at present, many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance was refused, no supply must be expected from the commons.

It is easy to see in what an inextricable labyrinth Charles was now involved. By his own concessions, by the principles of the English government, and by the form of every bill, which had granted this duty, tonnage and poundage was derived entirely from the free gift of the people; and, by consequence, might be withdrawn at their pleasure. If unreasonable in their refusal, they still refused nothing but what was their own. If public necessity required this supply, it also required the King's compliance with those conditions, which were the price of acquiring it. Tho' the motive of granting it had been the enabling the King to guard the seas; it did not follow, that, because he guarded the seas, he was therefore entitled to this revenue, without any farther formality; since the people had still reserved to themselves the right of judging how far that service merited such a supply. But Charles, notwithstanding his public declaration, was far from assenting to this conclusion, in its full extent. The plain consequence, he saw, of all these rigours, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without any public necessity, and without any default of his own, must, of a sudden, even from his accession, become a magistrate of a very different nature from any of his predecessors, and must fall into a total dependance on subjects, over whom former kings, especially those immediately preceding, had exercised an authority almost unlimited. Entangled in a chain of consequences, which he could not easily break, he was inclined to go higher, and rather deny the first principle, than admit of conclusions, which to him appeared so absurd and unreasonable. Agreeable to the ideas hitherto entertained both by natives and foreigners, the monarch he esteemed the essence and soul of the English government; and whatever other power pretended to annihilate or even abridge the royal authority, must necessarily, he thought, either in its nature or exercise, be deemed no better than an usurpation. Willing to preserve the antient harmony of the constitution, he had ever intended to comply, as far as he *easily* could, with the antient forms of administration: But when these forms appeared to him, by the inveterate obstinacy of the commons, to have no other tendency than to disturb that harmony, and to introduce a new constitution; he concluded, that, in this violent situation, what was subordinate must necessarily yield to what was principal, and the privileges of the people, for a time, give place to royal prerogative. From the rank of a monarch to be degraded into a slave of his insolent subjects, seemed,

of all indignities, the greatest; and nothing, in his judgment, could exceed the humiliation attending such a state, but the meanness of tamely submitting to it, without making some efforts to preserve the authority transferred to him by his profession.

Chap. II.
1029.

That still were his reflections and resolutions before the parliament assembled, he did not immediately break with them, upon their delay of voting him till supply. He thought, that he could better justify any strong measure, which he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry, to the utmost extremity, their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the house by messages and speeches. But the commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their censorial scrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance, to which they had not, as yet, by their petition of right, applied a sufficient remedy.

It was not possible, that this century, so fertile in religious sects and disputes, could escape the controversy concerning fatalism and free will, which, being deeply intermingled, both with philosophy and theology, had, in all ages, thrown every school and every church into such inextricable doubt and perplexity. The first reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition from Arminius and his followers, the controversy was soon brought into this island, and began here to diffuse itself. The Arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest offices and preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To impartial spectators surely, if any such had been, at that time, in England, it must have given great entertainment, to see a popular assembly, enflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to handle questions, for which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retirement, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.

AMMIST

Chap. II.
1627.

AMIDST that complication of disputes, in which men were involved, we may observe, that the appellation, *puritan*, stood for three parties, which, tho' commonly united together, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these, stood, the court-party, the hierarchy, and the arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But as the controversies, on every subject, grew daily warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular.

THIS house of commons, which, like all the preceding ones, during the reigns of James and Charles, and even of Elizabeth, had been much governed by the puritanical party, thought, that they could not better serve their cause, than by stigmatizing and punishing the arminian sect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the least favoured and least powerful of all their antagonists. From this measure, it was easily foreseen, that, besides gratifying the animosity of the doctrinal puritans, both the puritans in discipline and those in politics would reap considerable advantages. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopal government, and the most zealous partizans of the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were all supposed to be tainted with arminianism. The same men and their disciples were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the ecclesiastical hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the King, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative, on which at present he insisted.

BUT Charles, besides a view of the political consequences, which must result from a compliance with such pretensions, was strongly determined, from principles of piety and conscience, to oppose them. Neither the dissipation incident to youth, nor the pleasures attending a high fortune, had been able to prevent this virtuous Prince from embracing the most sincere sentiments of religion; and that character, which, in that religious age, ought to have been of infinite advantage to him, proved, in the end, the chief cause of his ruin: Merely, because the religion, adopted by him, was not of that precise mode and sect, which began to prevail among his subjects. His piety, tho' remote from popery, had a tincture of super-
perdition

perfection in it; and, being averse to the gloomy spirit of the puritans, was represented by them as tending towards the abominations of antichrist. That ill-bred unfortunately acquired a great ascendancy over him: And as all those palaces, struck at by the calumnies, were regarded as his chief friends and most valiant courtiers; he was resolved not to disarm and embarrass himself, by abandoning them to the treatment of his enemies. Being totally unprovided of military force, and finding a refractory, independant spirit to prevail among the people; the medicinal baub of his authority, he thought, consisted in the support which he received from the hierarchy.

In the debates of the commons, which are transmitted to us, we easily discern to early some sparks of that enthusiastic fire, which afterwards set the whole nation in combustion. One Rous made use of an allusion, which, tho' very familiar, seems to have been borrowed from the writings of Lord Bacon. "If a man meet a dog alone," said he, "the dog is thankful that he meets a creature of his nature: But, if the dog have his master with him, he will sit upon him, and from whom he fled before." This throws, that lower nature, lower bred, lower minded, even in court, and strength, and certainly more than in the wilderness, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, to make a vow and covenant from henceforth to hold fast our God and our country; and then shall we henceforth expect with certainty happiness in this world."

On the 22d of March, at that time, a poor man, of no account in the nation, interposed in their debates as complaining of one, who, he was told, committed a robbery. "It is amazing to observe the ill-will of our national assembly, and how ready they are to sit in judgment."

On the 23d, the debates concerning tithes and poundage were held in parliament, till twelve o'clock, or rather past midnight. The violence of the party which were tithes, and better to continue to give an account by what means they could avoid the payment of tithes, was paid not with decency and order, as the parliament were accustomed, but with confusion and tumult. The speaker of the house was somewhat angry, that he should find the parliament so ill behaved, and that he should find the commons so ill governed. He said, that he had never seen the commons so ill governed, as he saw them that day. He said, that he had never seen the commons so ill governed, as he saw them that day. He said, that he had never seen the commons so ill governed, as he saw them that day.

Chap. II. him and the commons. Mention was made in the house of impeaching Sir
1629. Richard Weston, Lord treasurer; and the King began to entertain thoughts of finishing the session by a dissolution.

SIR John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, *That he had a command from the King to adjourn, and to put no question.* Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those, who levied tonnage and poundage, were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants, who should voluntarily pay these duties, were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the house of lords, who was sent by the King, could get no admittance, till this remonstrance was finished. By the King's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings. And a few days afterwards, the parliament was dissolved.

Dissolution of
the parliament.
March 10.

THE discontents of the nation ran extremely high, on account of this violent rupture between the King and parliament. These discontents Charles inflamed by his affectation of a severity, which he had not power, nor, probably, inclination, to carry to extremity. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult, which was called sedition. With great difficulty, and after several delays, they were released; and the law was generally supposed to be wrested, in order to prolong their imprisonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct, as members of a superior, they were condemned to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thousand pounds a-piece, the latter five hundred. This sentence, procured by the influence of the crown, served only to show the King's disregard to the privileges of parliament, and to acquire an immense stock of popularity to the sufferers, who had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The commons of England, tho' an immense body, and possessed of the greatest part of the national property, were naturally somewhat defenceless; because of their personal equality and their want of leaders: But the King's severity, if these illegal prosecutions deserve the name, here pointed out leaders

leaders to them, whose resentment was enlamed, and whose courage was no way daunted, by the hardships which they had undergone in so honourable a cause. Chap. II.
1129.

So much did these patriots glory in their sufferings, that they would not condescend even to present a petition to the king, expressing their sorrow for having offended him. They unanimously refused to find sureties for their good behaviour; and declined to accept of deliverance on such easy terms. Nay, Hollis was so indignant as to continue his meritorious distress, that when one offered to bail him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himself bound with his friend. Even Long, who had actually found sureties in the chief justices chamber, declared in court, that his sureties should no longer continue. Yet because Sir John Elliot happened to die, while in custody, a great clamour was raised against the administration; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

C H A P. III.

Peace with France.—Peace with Spain.—State of the court and ministry.—Character of the Queen.—Strafford.—Land.—Innovations in the church.—Irregular levies of money.—Severities in the star-chamber and high commission.—Ship-money.—Trial of Hambden.

THERE now opens to us a new scene. Charles, naturally disgusted with parliaments, was resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his great favourite, Buckingham, he became his own minister; and never afterwards reposed in any one such unlimited confidence. As he chiefly follows his own genius and caprice, his measures are henceforth less rash and hasty; tho' the general tenor of his administration still wants somewhat of being entirely legal, and more of being entirely prudent. 1130.

We shall endeavour to exhibit a just idea of the events, which followed for some years; so far as they regard foreign affairs, the state of the court, and the government of the nation. The incidents are neither numerous nor illustrious; but

Chap. III. the knowledge of them is necessary for understanding the subsequent transactions,
1629. which are so memorable.

CHARLES, destitute of all supply, was obliged from necessity to embrace a measure, which ought to have been the result of reason and sound policy : He made peace with the two crowns, against whom he had hitherto waged a war, so unnecessary and so inglorious. Notwithstanding the distracted and helpless condition of England, no attempt was made, either by France or Spain, to invade their enemy ; nor did they entertain any farther project than to defend themselves against the feeble and ill concerted expeditions of that kingdom. Pleased that the jealousies and quarrels between King and parliament had disarmed so formidable a power, they carefully avoided any enterprize, which might rouse either the terror or anger of the English, and dispose them to domestic union and submission. The endeavours to regain the good will of the nation was carried so far by the king of Spain, that he generously released and sent home all the English prisoners, taken in the expedition against Cadiz. The example was imitated by France, after the retreat of the English from the isle of Rhé. When princes were in such dispositions, and had so few pretensions on each other, it could not be difficult to conclude a peace. The treaty was first signed with France. The situation of the King's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their sovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain ; where no conditions were made in favour of the Palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use her good offices for his restoration. The influence of these two wars on domestic affairs, and on the dispositions of King and people, was of the utmost consequence ; But no alteration was made by them on the foreign interests of the kingdom.

Peace with
France and
Spain.
April 14.

1630.
November 5.

Nothing more happy can be imagined than the situation, in which England then stood with regard to foreign affairs. Europe was divided between the rival families of Bourbon and Austria, whose opposite interests, and still more, their mutual jealousies, secured the tranquillity of this island. Their forces were so nearly counterpoized, that no apprehensions were entertained of any event, which could suddenly disturb the ballance of power between them. The Spanish monarchy, deemed the most powerful, lay at greatest distance ; and the English, by that means, possessed the advantage of being engaged by political motives, into a more intimate union and confederacy with the neighbouring potentate. The dispersed situation of the Spanish dominions rendered the naval power of England very formidable to them, and kept that empire in continual dependance. France, more vigorous and more compact, was, every day, rising in policy and discipline ; and reached at last an equality

equality of power with the house of Austria: But her policy, now and gradual, left it still in the power of England, by a timely intervention, to check her superiority. And this Charles, could he have avoided all difficulties with his own subjects, was in a situation to make himself be esteemed and respected by every power in Europe; and what has scarce ever since been attained by the princes of this island, he could either be active with dignity, or neutral with security.

A neutrality was declared by the King; and during the rest of his reign, he seems to have little regarded foreign affairs, except to be so well engaged, by honour and by friendship for his sister and the Palatinate, to endeavour procuring some relief for that unhappy family. He joined his good offices to that of France, and mediated a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppressed protestants in the empire. This was the famed Gustavus, whom he, by gradual, recommended by the wisest policy, made him, in a little time, the most distinguished monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the ballance of Europe. To encourage and assist his projected invasion of Germany, Charles agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but that he might preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the Marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman allied to the crown. His action entered into an engagement with Gustavus, and insluting these troops in England and Scotland at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The decisive battle of Leipzig was fought soon after, where the conduct of Tilly and the valour of the imperialists, were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus and the superior valour of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued series of victory, for which he was less beholden to fortune, than to his personal endowments, which he derived from nature and from industry. This rapid progress of conquest, which we so much admire in ancient history, and so rarely find in modern annals; and without that cause, to which in former ages, it had ever been owing. Military matters were not then engaged against an undisciplined and unwilful people; nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were tiled in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in a moment, by the victorious Swedes. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles tired of the purpose, for which he framed the alliance; and as, by prosperity, begun to form more extensive plans of ambition, and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Popedom, he intended to lay a claim to subjection under his own. He refused to receive the Palatinate as a tributary, except on condition, which would have kept him in total dependence

Chap. III.
1630.

And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of a compleat victory, which he obtained over his enemies.

WE have carried on these transactions a few years beyond the present period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms.

State of the
court and
ministry.

WHEN we consider Charles, as presiding in his court, as associated with his family, it is difficult to imagine a character, at once more respectable and more amiable. A kind husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, a steadfast friend; to all these eulogies, his conduct in private life fully intitled him. As a monarch too, in the exterior qualities he excelled; in the essential, he was not defective. His address and manner, tho' perhaps inclining a little towards stateliness and formality, in the main corresponded to his high rank, and gave grace to that reserve and gravity, which were natural to him. The moderation and equity, which shone forth in his temper, *seemed* to secure him against rash and dangerous enterprizes: The good sense, which he displayed in his discourse and conversation, *seemed* to warrant his success in every reasonable undertaking. Other endowments likewise he enjoyed, which, in a private gentleman, would have been highly ornamental, and which, in a great monarch, might have proved extremely useful to his people. He was possessed of an excellent taste in all the fine arts; and the love of painting was, in some degree, his favourite passion. Learned beyond what is common in princes, he was a good judge of writing in others, and possessed, himself, no mean talent in composition. In any other age, or nation, this monarch had been secure of a prosperous and a happy reign. But the high idea of his own authority, with which he had been imbued, made him incapable of giving way to the spirit of liberty, which began to prevail among his subjects. His politics were not supported with such vigour and foresight as might enable him to subdue their privileges, and maintain his prerogative at the high pitch, to which it had been raised. And above all, the spirit of enthusiasm, being universally diffused over the nation, disappointed all the views of human prudence, and disturbed the operation of every motive, which usually influence society.

BUT the misfortunes, produced by these causes, were yet remote. Charles now enjoyed himself in the full exercise of his authority, in a social intercourse with his friends and courtiers, and in a moderate use of those pleasures, which he most affected.

Character of
the Queen.

AFTER the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the Queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. That rustic contempt

contempt of the fair sex, which James affected, and which, banishing them from his court, made it resemble more a fair or an exchange, than the fair of a great prince; was very wise of the disposition of this monarch. But tho' full of compliance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for the Queen, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; tho' it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent councils. Her religion likewise, to which she was much attached, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy, which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure, for the catholics, some indulgences, which were generally distasteful to the nation.

In the former situation of the English government, when the sovereign was, in a great measure, independent of his subjects, the king chose his ministers, either from personal favour, or from an opinion of their ability; without any regard to their parliamentary interest or talents. It has since been the maxim of princes, where-ever popular leaders encroach too much on royal authority, to confer offices on them; in expectation, that they will afterwards become more careful not to diminish that power, which has become thir own. These politics were now embraced by Charles; a sure proof, that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the King were, at this time, so remote from those of the puritans, that the leaders, whom he gained, lost, from that moment, all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment. This was the case with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the King created, first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards Earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and Lord deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counsellor. By his eminent talents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence, which the king reposed in him: His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love: His fidelity to his master was unshaken; but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly lent all his endeavours to diminish, his virtue seems not to have been fairly pure, but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition. Sir Dudley Digges was, about the same time, created master of the rolls: Noy, attorney-general: Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had been likewise parliamentary leaders; and were men very eminent in their profession.

Chap. III.
1632.
Laud.

IN all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, bishop of London, had great influence on the King. This man was virtuous; if severity of manners alone and abstinence from pleasure could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could intitle him to that praise. He was disinterested; but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing, by the most rigorous measures, his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of prudence and rules of good manners. He was, in this respect, happy, that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exercise of his revenge, by that means, became in his eyes a merit and a virtue. This was the man, who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct, which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms.

Innovations in
the church.

THE humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme opposite to superstition; and it was with difficulty, that the antient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been sanctified by the practice of the first reformers, could be retained in divine service: Yet was this the time, which Laud chose for the introduction of new ceremonies and observances. Besides that these were sure to displease as innovations, there lay, in the opinion of the public, another very forcible objection against them. Laud and the other prelates, who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in sacred antiquity, and had adopted all those religious sentiments, which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries; when the christian church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions, which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think, that, without some secret purpose, such insignificant observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory spirit of the nation; and that Laud's scheme was to lead the English, by gradual steps, back to the religion of their ancestors. They considered not, that the very insignificancy of these ceremonies recommended them to the superstitious prelate, and made them appear the more peculiarly sacred and religious, that they could serve no other purpose. Nor was the resemblance to the Romish ritual

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1630.

psalms: And then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: *We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.*

AFTER this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of foldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burthens thro' it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, amen.*

THE imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he, in like manner, bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, amen.*

THE sermon succeeded; after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner:

As he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: And coming up to that part of the table, where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

NEXT, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was full of wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy.

ORDERS were given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the area, where it hitherto stood in all churches, except in cathedrals. It was placed in the east end, railed in, and denominated an ALTAR; as the clergyman, who officiated, received commonly the appellation of PRIEST. 'Tis not easy to imagine the discontents, excited by this innovation, and the suspicions, which it gave rise to.

THE kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, was also known to be a great object of scandal,

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1630.

with reason, that the impartiality was altogether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant against the calvinists.

IN return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat, with the utmost disdain or detestation, all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expence of public liberty, they made no scruple of incroaching, themselves, on the royal rights the most incontestable; in order to exalt the hierarchy, and procure to their own order dominion and independance. All the doctrines, which the Romish church had borrowed from some of the fathers, and which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one: The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeizable: All right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen: Ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own name, without any notice taken of the King's authority: And Charles, tho' extremely jealous of every claim in popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage, than repress, those encroachments in his clergy. Having felt some sensible inconveniences from the independent spirit of parliaments, he attached himself intirely to those, who professed a devoted obedience to his crown and person; nor did he foresee, that the ecclesiastical power, which he exalted, not admitting of any precise boundary, might in time become more dangerous to public peace, and no less fatal to royal prerogative, than the other.

So early as the coronation, Laud was the person, according to general opinion, who introduced a novelty, which, tho' overlooked by Charles, made a deep impression on many of the byestanders. After the usual ceremonies, these words were recited to the King: "Stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place, to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And, as you see the clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember, that, in all places convenient, you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you on the kingly throne, to be a mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity; and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."

THE principles, which exalted prerogative, were not entertained by the King, CH. IV.
 merely as soft and agreeable to his royal ears: They were all put in practice during all the time, that he ruled without parliaments. The frugal and regular in his expences, he wanted money for the support of government; and he sought it, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violence, from more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation. The humane and gentle in his temper, he gave way to severities in the star-chamber and high commission, which seem'd requisite, in order to support the present model of administration, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. Under these two heads, may be reduced all the remarkable transactions of this reign, during some years: For, in peaceable and prosperous times, where a neutrality in foreign affairs is observed, scarce any thing is remarkable, but what is, in some degree, blamed or blameable. And, lest the hope of relief or protection from parliament might encourage opposition, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That, whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament
 "is divulged; tho' his Majesty has shewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the use of parliaments: Yet the late abuse having for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course; he will account by proclamation for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned. And every measure of the King confirmed a suspicion, so disagreeable to the generality of the people.

Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former arbitrary impositions were still exacted. Tunnage and poundage were laid on several kinds of merchandize.

The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any truck or closet; and to break any truck warehouse, in default of the payment of customs.

In order to examine the militia, and keep them in good order, and security, by an edict of the council, was made in a certain manner for the continual guard of a muster-matrix, appointed for that service.

Commissions were openly made with regularity, and the people were put to great charge, and pain, and vexation. That was an ill practice, which should have been discontinued.

The commission was given out for comparing with the parliament roll of the year 1628, all the commissions, which were then passed, according to the petition of the people.

Chap. III.
1030.

THERE was a law of Edward II. *, That whoever was possessed of twenty pounds a-year in land, should be obliged, when summoned, to appear and to receive the order of knighthood. Twenty pounds, at that time, partly by the change of denomination, partly by that in the value of money, were equivalent to 200 in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; and it seemed just, that the King should not insist strictly on the letter of the law, and oblige people of so small revenue to accept of that expensive honour. Edward VI. †, and Queen Elizabeth ‡, who had both of them made use of this expedient for raising money, had summoned only those possessed of forty pounds a-year and upwards to receive knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles imitated their example, in granting the same indulgence. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition; and instructions were given to these commissioners, not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the person, upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. Nothing proves more plainly, how ill disposed the people were to the measures of the crown, than to observe that they loudly complained of an expedient founded on positive statute, and warranted by such recent precedents. The law was pretended to be obsolete; tho' only one reign had intervened since the last execution of it.

Severities of
the star-chamber
and high
commission.

BARNARD, lecturer of St. Sepulchres, London, had this expression in his prayer before sermon; *Lord, open the eyes of the Queen's Majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry.* He was questioned in the high commission court; but, upon his submission, dismissed. Leighton, who had wrote libels against the King, the Queen, the bishops, and the whole administration, was condemned by a very severe, if not a cruel, sentence; but the execution of it was suspended for some time, in expectation of his submission §. All the severities, indeed, of this reign, were exercised against those, who triumphed in their sufferings, who courted persecution, and braved authority: And, upon that account, their punishment may be deemed the more just, but the less prudent. To have neglected them intirely, had it been consistent with order and public safety, had been the wisest measure, which could have been embraced; as perhaps, it had been the most severe punishment, which could have been inflicted on these zealots.

1041.

IN order to gratify the clergy with a magnificent fabric, subscriptions were set on foot, for the repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's; and the King, by his countenance and example, encouraged this laudable undertaking. By order of the
privy

* *Statutum de militibus.*

† Kennet's complete history

† Rymer, tom. xv. p. 122.

‡ Id. 463, 503.

privy council, St. Gregory's church was removed, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Some churches and shops likewise were pulled down, and compensation was made to the proprietors. As there was no immediate prospect of assembling a parliament, such was the opinion in the King's council; and in no former age would the people have entertained any scruple with regard to them. It must be remarked, that the puritans were extremely averse to the raising this ornament to the capital. It favoured, as they pretended, of popish superstition.

An office was erected for the sealing of cards: A new tax, which, of itself, was liable to no objection; but was of the most dangerous consequence, when considered as arbitrary and illegal.

MONOPOLIES were revived; an oppressive method of levying taxes, being unlimited as well as destructive of industry. The last parliament of James, which abolished monopolies, had left a very equitable exception in favour of new inventions; and under pretext of these, and of erecting new companies and corporations, was this grievance now renewed. The manufacture of soap was given to a company, who paid a sum for their patent. Leather, silk, and many other commodities, even down to linnen rags, were likewise put under restrictions.

'Tis affirmed by Clarendon, that so little benefit was reaped from these projects, that of 200,000 pounds levied from the people, scarce 1500 came into the King's coffers. Tho' we ought not to suspect the noble historian of exaggerations to the disadvantage of Charles's measures; this fact, it must be owned, appears incredible. The same author adds, that the King's intention was to teach his subjects how unprofitable a thing it was to refuse reasonable supplies to the crown. An impudent project! to offend a whole nation, under the view of parliament; and to hope, by acts of violence, to break their refractory spirits, without being assisted by any forces to prevent resistance.

The council of York had been first created, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and the exercise of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. That council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations, introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and that, in some respects, discretionary. 'Tis not imprudent, that the King's intention was only to prevent inconveniences, which arose from the bringing every case, from the most distant parts of the kingdom, into Westminster-hall. But the consequence, in the mean time, of this measure, was the putting all the northern counties

Chap. III. ties out of the protection of ordinary law, and the subjecting them to an authority somewhat arbitrary. Some irregular acts of that council were, this year, 1632. complained of.

1633. THE court of star-chamber extended very far its authority; and it was matter of complaint, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts; imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment, beyond the usual course of justice. Sir David Foulis was fined 5000 pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood.

PRYNNE, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had wrote an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histrion-Mastix*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author likewise took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and May-poles. His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved, by observing, that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often papists, and desperately wicked; the play-houses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-haunters little better than incarnate devils, and so many steps in a dance, so many paces to hell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been, his frequenting and acting of plays; and those, who nobly conspired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The rest of his thousand pages were of a like strain. He had obtained a licence from Archbishop's Abbot's chaplain; yet was he indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satyres against the King and Queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the Queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court. The author, it must be owned, had, in plainer terms, blamed the hierarchy, the innovations in religious worship, and the new superstitions, introduced by Laud; and this probably, together with the obstinacy of his behaviour before the star-chamber, was the reason why his sentence was so severe. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay 5000 pounds fine to the King; and to be imprisoned during life.

THIS same Prynne was a great hero among the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view to mortify that sect, that, tho' of an honourable profession, he was condemned by the star-chamber to so ignominious a punishment. The thorough-paced puritans were distinguishable by the solemnity and austerity of their manners, and

by

by their aversion to all pleasure and society. To inspire them with better humour was certainly, both for their own sake and that of the public, a very laudable intention in the court; but, whether pleasures, games, and profits, were proper expedients for that purpose, may admit of some question.

An entire expedient, which the King tried, in order to invite dissipation into the national devotion, was not much more successful. He renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those, who were punctiliously affected, resented his licence, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; but was it necessary to widen them further by these inventions?

Some were tragical and proterious, which the King and the bishops gave to wakes, church-fairs, bull-baiting, and other theatrical rituals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans.

Thus far, Charles made a journey into Scotland, attended by his court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to give credit to the authority of his government. The nobility and gentry of both Kingdoms attended such crises, in expressing all duty and respect to the King, and in showing mutual friendship and regard to each other. No one could have suspected, from exterior appearances, that religious differences were approaching.

One chief article of belief, (the first clause the name where the King transgressed his jurisdiction, was, besides the carrying down supply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergy-men. This new point set violent opposition and difficulty. The dread of rupture was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that a new edition of this law, it would look for its execution among them. This the King believed, that his prerogative did not limit a spiritual power of creating whatever belonged to the spiritual government of the clergy; this was considered a matter of the great importance to be order to withdraw the nation at a particular season.

Three years after the King's return to England, the Board of Arch-bishop Abbot's death; Arch-bishop Abbot, who was dying, he carried that dignity on his bed-chamber, he died. By the death of Arch-bishop, who was called to his death-bed, the nation was a great relief, and so to contribute the general discontent of the nation.

James retained the bill of the of London for his friend, James, and the death of James, England's death, had interest enough to require the King to make James private Buckingham treasurer. James was a person of great integrity, mind,

Chap. III.
1703.

Chap. III.
1633.

and humanity, and endued with a good understanding: Yet did this last promotion give general discontent. His birth and character were too obscure for a man raised to one of the highest offices of the crown. And the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former instances of the King's attachment to them, and needed not this farther encouragement to assume dominion over the laity. The puritans, likewise, were much dissatisfied with Juxon, notwithstanding all his eminent virtues; because he was a lover of profane field-sports and hunting.

1634.

Ship-money.

SHIP-MONEY was now introduced. The first writs of this kind had been only directed to seaport-towns: But ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding 200,000 pounds; it was levied upon the people with justice and equality; and this money was intirely expended upon the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom: Yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people to the imposition. It was intirely arbitrary: By the same right, any other tax might be imposed: And men esteemed a powerful fleet, tho' very desirable, both for the credit and security of the kingdom, but an unequal recompence for their liberties, which were thus sacrificed to the ob

ENGLAND, it must be owned, was, in this respect, very unhappy in its present situation, that the King had entertained a very different idea of the constitution, from that which *began*, in general, to prevail among his subjects. He did not regard the privileges of the people as so sacred and inviolable, that nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care heaven, by his birth-right, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with very ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. If the observance of the ancient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he thought himself obliged to comply with that rule; as the easiest, the safest, and what procured the most prompt and willing obedience. But when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obduracy of the people, required a new plan of administration; national privileges, he thought, must yield to supreme power; nor could any order or the state oppose any right to the will of the sovereign, directed to the good of the public. That these principles of government were derived from the uniform tenor of the English laws, it would be rash to affirm. The fluctuating nature of the constitution, the impatient humour of the people, and the variety

of events, had, no doubt, in consequence, produced many exceptions and contradictions. These observations are very well founded on both sides, that the appearances were favourable to the favour of the King to apologise for his following such measures, and that public liberty must be so precious and rights exorbitant prerogatives to render an opposition, not only excusable, but laudable, in the people.

Statutes had been enacted, during the reign of Henry VII. against depopulation, or the converting arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the Star-chamber, Sir Anthony Roger was fined 4000 pounds for an offence of this nature. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into compulsion; and above 3000 pounds were levied by that expedient. Like compulsion, or in default of them, heavy fines, were required for encroachments on the King's territory; whole bounds, by decrees, esteemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual. The bounds of one forfeit, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty². The same humour, which made the people refuse to the King voluntary supplies, disposed them, with much better reason, to murmur against these irregular methods of taxation.

MORLEY was fined 10,000 pounds, for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of Whitehall, Sir George Theobald, one of the King's servants. This fine was thought exorbitant; but whether it was compounded, as was usual in fines imposed by the Star-chamber, we are not informed.

Anderson had reported, that the Archbishop of York had incurred the King's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration to the catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the Archbishop, he was condemned in the Star-chamber to be fined 1000 pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound to his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory at Westminster, and in three other towns in England. Rolins, who had been an accomplice in the guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe. Such events are rather to be considered as rare and detached instances, collected by the severe scrutiny of historians, than as proofs of the prevailing genius of the King's administration. And it is also certain, that scandal against the great, tho' freedom protected at present, is, however, in the eye of the law, a great crime, and subjects the offender to very heavy penalties.

CHARLES had imitated the example of Elizabeth and James, and had issued proclamations forbidding the landed gentlemen and the nobility, to live idly in London, and ordering them to retire to their country-seats. For disobedience to

Chap. III. this edict, many were indicted by the attorney-general, and were fined in the star-chamber. 1635. This occasioned discontents, and the sentences were complained of, as illegal. But if proclamations had authority, of which no body pretended to doubt; must they not be put in execution? In no instance, I must confess, does it more evidently appear, what confused and uncertain ideas were, during that age, entertained concerning the English constitution.

RAY, having exported fuller's earth, contrary to the King's proclamation, was, besides the pillory, condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of 2000 pounds. Like fines were levied on Terry, Eman, and others, for disobeying a proclamation, which forbade the exportation of gold. In order to account for the subsequent convulsions, even these incidents are not to be overlooked, as frivolous or contemptible. Such severities as these were afterwards magnified into the greatest enormities.

THERE remains a proclamation of this year, prohibiting hackney coaches to stand in the street. We are told, that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are, at present, near a thousand.

1636. THE effects of ship-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of sixty sail, the greatest, which England had ever known, was equipped under the Earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-busses of the Dutch, which fished in what were called the British seas. The Dutch were content to pay 30,000 pounds for a licence during this year. They openly denied, however, this claim of dominion in the seas, beyond the friths, bays, and shores; and it may be questioned whether the laws of nations warrant any farther pretensions.

THIS year the King sent a squadron against Sallee; and with the assistance of the Emperor of Morecco, destroyed that receptacle of pyrates, by whom the English commerce and even the English coasts had been long infested. This small exploit was of consequence, and the utmost that could be expected from a prince, who had no army nor revenue; and who had not been able, without employing the most difficult and even dangerous expedients, to equip a fleet, and thereby provide, in some degree, for the reputation and safety of his kingdoms.

1637. BURTON a divine, and Bastwick a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and were condemned to the same punishment, which had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himself was tried for a new offence; and, together with another fine of 5000 pounds, was condemned to lose what remained of his ears. Besides, that these writers had attacked, with great severity, and even an intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government of the church;

church; the very answers, which they gave in to the court, were so full of contrivance and of invectives against the prelate, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigors however, which they underwent, being followed by the men of their profession, gave general offence, and the power, or rather alacrity, with which they entered, increased still farther the number of the petitioners. The severity of the star-chamber, which was generally directed to the petitioners' disposition, was, perhaps, in itself, somewhat unreasonable; but with respect to us, appear enormous, who enjoy, in the utmost latitude, that liberty of the press, which is so necessary in every monarchy, confined by legal limitations. These limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was the freedom of speech totally unknown, and was generally deemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with a good government. No age nor nation, among the moderns, had ever for an example of such indulgence: And it seems unreasonable to judge, of the measures, embraced during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another.

Besides in his book, where he complained of innovations, mentioned several others, that he would. Wednesday had been appointed for a fast, and that the fast was ordered to be celebrated without any sermon. The intention, as he perceived, of that novelty was, by the example of a fast without sermons, to support all the Wednesday's lectures in London. 'Tis observable, that the church of Rome and that of England, being, both of them, lovers of form and ceremony and study, are more inclined to prayer than preaching; while the protestants, Charles, who find, that the latter method of address, being directed to a numerous audience present and visible, is more inflaming and animating, have always regarded it as the chief part of divine service. Such circumstances, tho' minute, it may not be improper to mention to posterity; that those, who are curious of tracing the history of the human mind, may remark, how far its several dispositions conduct to different ages.

Country gentlemen had converted themselves into a factory for buying in of impropriations, and transferring them to the church; and great sums of money had been bestowed to that end by the noble families for these purposes. But it was now observed, that the number, which they need of their lands, was so small, that they could not employ a public clergyman, many who, without being subjected to a regular education, employed themselves entirely in profane studies, in squandering their time in dissipation. I had taken care, by a statute, which was put in the course of negociation, and which was much complained of, to abolish this factory, but to preserve the property. It was, however, still observed, that, tho' almost all the money, and lands, even all of them, purchased by affected, and from the most dissipated families, was converted

Chap. II. selves with reading prayers and homilies to the people, commonly received the
 1637. reproachful appellation of *dumb dogs*.

THE puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government, which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves deprived in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dreading, perhaps, the dangerous consequences of so disaffected a colony, prevailed with the King to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees access even into those inhospitable deserts. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were stayed by order of council; and in these were embarked Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hambden, and Oliver Cromwel*, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe; where they might enjoy lectures and discourses of any length or form which pleased them. The King had afterwards full leisure to repent this exercise of his authority.

THE bishop of Norwich, by rigorously insisting on uniformity, had banished many industrious tradesmen from that city, and chased them into Holland. The Dutch began to be more intent on commerce than on orthodoxy; and thought that useful arts and obedience to the laws formed a good citizen; tho' attended with errors in subjects, where it is not allowable for human nature to expect any positive truth or certainty.

COMPLAINTS about this time were made, that the petition of right was, in some instances, violated, and that, upon a commitment by the King and council, bail or releasement had been refused to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers.

WILLIAMS, bishop of Lincoln, a man of great spirit and learning, a very popular prelate, and who had been Lord keeper, was fined 10,000 pounds, committed to the Tower during the King's pleasure, and suspended from his office. This severe sentence was founded on very frivolous pretences, and was more ascribed to Laud's vengeance, than to any guilt of the bishop. Laud, however, had owed his first promotion entirely to the good offices of that prelate with King James. But so implacable was the haughty primate, that he raised up a new prosecution against Williams, on the strangest pretence imaginable. In order to levy the fine, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had been thrown by, as useless. These letters were wrote by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was there made of *a little great man*; and in another passage, the same person

* Mather's History of New England, book 1. Dugdale, Bates.

person was denominated *a little wicked*. By inferences and constructions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation was Williams tried anew, as having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence. For this offence, another fine of 5000 pounds was levied on him by a sentence of the star-chamber: Osbaldistone was likewise brought to trial, and condemned to a fine of 5000 pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his pocket, where he said, "That he was gone beyond Canterbury."

These iniquitous prosecutions of Williams seem to be the most violent measure, pursued by the court during the time that the use of parliaments was suspended. Williams was a man who had been indebted for all his fortune to the favour of James; but having quarreled, first with Buckingham, then with Laud, he threw himself into the country party; and with great firmness and vigour opposed all the measures of the King. A creature of the court to become its obstinate enemy, a bishop to countenance puritans; these circumstances excited indignation, and engaged the ministers in these severe measures. Not to mention, what some writers relate, that, before the sentence was pronounced against him, Williams was offered a pardon upon his submission, which he refused to make. The court was apt to think, that so refractory a spirit must by any expedient be broken and subdued.

In a former trial, which Williams underwent, (for these were not the first) there was mentioned, in court, a story, which, as it discovers the genius of parties, may be worth reciting. Sir John Lambe, urging him to prosecute the puritans, the prelate asked, what sort of people these same puritans were? Sir John replied, "That to the world they seemed to be such as would not swear, nor whore, nor be drunk; but they would lye, cozen, and deceive: That they would frequently hear two sermons a-day, and repeat them too, and that sometimes they would fast all day long." This character must be conceived to be satyrical; but yet, it may be allowed, that that sect was more averse to such irregularities as proceed from the excess of gaiety and pleasure, than to those enormities, which are the most destructive of society. The former were opposite to the very genius and spirit of their religion; the latter were only a transgression of its precepts: And it was not difficult for a glory enthusiast to convince himself, that a strict observance of the one would atone for any violation of the other.

In 1638, Lord treasurer Portland had insisted with the vintners, that they should submit to a tax of a penny a-quart, upon all the wine which they retailed. But this proposal they utterly refused. In order to punish them, a decree suddenly, and

Chap. III. out enquiry or examination, passed in the star-chamber, prohibiting them to sell
1637. or dress victuals in their houses. Two years after, they were questioned for breach of this decree; and in order to avoid punishment, they agreed to lend the King six thousand pounds. Being threatened, during the subsequent years, with fines and prosecutions, they at last compounded the matter, and submitted to pay half the duty, which was at first demanded of them. It required little foresight to perceive, that the King's right of issuing proclamations must, if prosecuted, draw on a power of taxation.

LILBURNE was accused before the star-chamber, of publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets. He was ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath, usual in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, by which he might be led to accuse himself. For this contempt, as it was interpreted, he was condemned to be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. While he was whipped at the cart, and stood on the pillory, he harangued the populace, and declaimed violently against the tyranny of bishops. From his pockets also he scattered pamphlets, said to be seditious; because, I suppose, they attacked the hierarchy. The star-chamber, who were sitting at that very time, ordered him immediately to be gagged. He ceased not however, tho' both gagged and pilloried, to stamp with his foot and gesticulate, in order to show the people, that, if he had it in his power, he would still harangue them. This behaviour gave fresh provocation to the star-chamber; and they condemned him to be imprisoned in a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons. It was found very difficult to break the spirits of men, who placed both their honour and their conscience in suffering.

THE jealousy of the church appeared in another instance less tragical. Archy, the King's fool, who, by his office, had the privilege of jesting on his master, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too sacred a person to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy, seeing the primate pass by, called to him, *Who's fool, now, my Lord?* For this offence, Archy was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the King's service.

HERE is another instance of that rigorous subjection, in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-inn, heated by their cups, having drank confusion to the Archbishop, were, at his instigation, cited before the star-chamber. They applied to the Earl of Dorset for protection. *Who bears witness against you?* said Dorset. *One of the drawers,* they replied. *Where did he stand, when you were suspected to drink this health?* subjoined the Earl. *He was at the door,* they replied, *going out of the room.* *Tush!* cried he; *the drawer*

was mistaken: *You donk to the contrary of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury's decree; and the fellows won't give you passage out the highway.* This hint suggested the young gentleman with a new method of defence: And being advised by Dierlet to behave with great courtesy and submission to the prince; the modesty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, with the patronage of that noble Lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition, with which they were dismissed.

That year, John Hambden deservedly acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and was merited great renown with popularity and the bold stand, which he made, in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. After the laying on of ship-money, Charles, in order to discourage all opposition, had proposed the question to the judges; “Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he was not sole judge of the necessity?” The guardians of law and liberty replied, with great complacency, “That in a case of necessity he might impose that taxation, and that he was the judge of the necessity.” Mr. Hambden had been rated at twenty shillings for an estate, which he held in the county of Buckingham: Yet notwithstanding this exorbitant opinion of the judges, notwithstanding the great power, and sometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithstanding the little prospect of relief from parliament; he resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignities of the courts. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: But the principles, and reasonings, and behaviour of all the parties, engaged in the trial, were much canvassed and enquired into; and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one side, except the hatred, which attended the other.

It was urged by Hambden's counsel, that the plea of necessity was in violation of a trial of law; that it was the nature of necessity to abolish all law; and, by its absolute violence, to reduce all the virtues and maxims of justice of human society. Not only the prince, in cases of necessity, is exempted from the ordinary rules of administration: All laws are suspended by it; and any individual may consult the public safety by suspending himself from his station and his law to employ. But to propose to transfer the jurisdiction to every community, an arbitrary dispensation of justice, to grant a dispensation, a necessity, which is merely subjective and personal.

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Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palpable to every member of the society; and tho' all antient rules of government are in that case abrogated, men will readily, of themselves, submit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preservation. But what is there in common between such suppositions, and the present condition of the nation? England enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours: And what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves, and by their mutual enmities farther ensure her tranquillity. The very writs themselves, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the supposition of necessity, and pretend only, that the seas are infested with pyrates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal supply from parliament. The writs likewise allow several months for equipping the ships; which proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. 'Tis strange too, that an extreme necessity, which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without interruption, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the whole kingdom. And as to the pretension, that the King is sole judge of the necessity; what is this, but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation; by adding, to violence against men's persons and their property, so cruel a mockery of their understanding.

In most national debates, tho' the reasons may not be equally ballanced, yet are there commonly some plausible topics, which may be pleaded even in favour of the weaker side; so complicated are all human affairs, and so uncertain the views, which give rise to every public measure: But it must be confessed, that, in the present case, no legal topics of any weight can be thrown into the opposite scale. The imposition of ship-money, is apparently one of the most dangerous invasions of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the most arbitrary princes in England, since any liberty had been ascertained to the people, had ever ventured upon*. In vain were precedents of antient writs produced: These writs, when examined, were only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, was abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority, which remained

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* It must, however, be allowed, that Queen Elizabeth ordered the sea-ports to fit out ships at their own expence during the time of the Spanish invasion. *Monson's Naval Tracts.*

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vantage was temporary, and due alone, not to any encouragement given by the crown, but to the spirit of the English, the remains of their antient freedom. What tho' the personal character of the King, amidst all his misguided councils, might merit indulgence, or even praise? He was but one man; and the privileges of the nation, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes. Such, or more severe, were the sentiments promoted by a great party in the nation: No excuse on the King's part, or alleviation, however reasonable, could be hearkened to or admitted: And to redress these grievances, a parliament was impatiently longed for; or any other incident, however calamitous, which might secure the people against those oppressions, which they felt, or the greater ills, which they apprehended, from the combined encroachments of church and state.

C H A P. IV.

Discontents in Scotland.—Introduction of the canons and liturgy.—A tumult at Edinburgh.—The covenant.—A general assembly.—Episcopacy abolished.—War.—A pacification.—Renewal of the war.—Fourth English parliament.—Dissolution.—Discontents in England.—Rout at Newburn.—Treaty at Rippon.—Great council of the peers.

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THE grievances, under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves, without regard to the constitution, scarce deserve the name; nor were they either burthensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind. Even the taxation of ship-money, independent of the consequences, was rather an advantage to the public; by the judicious use, which the King made of the money, levied by that expedient. And tho' it was justly apprehended, that such precedents, if patiently submitted to, would end in a total disuse of parliaments, and in the establishment of arbitrary authority; Charles dreaded no opposition from the people, who are not commonly much affected with consequences, and require some striking motive, to engage them into a resistance of established government. All ecclesiastical affairs were settled by law and uninterrupted precedent; and the church was become a considerable barrier to the power, both legal and illegal, of the crown. Peace too, industry, commerce, opulence; nay, even justice and lenity of administration,

ministration, notwithstanding some few exceptions: All these were caused by the people; and every other blessing of government, except liberty, or rather the present extreme of liberty and its proper security. It seemed probable, therefore, that affairs might long have continued on the same footing in England, had it not been for the neighbourhood of Scotland; a country more turbulent, and less disposed to submission and obedience. It was from thence the commotion first arose; and 'tis therefore time for us to return thither, and to give an account of the situation of that country.

THO' the pacific, and not unskilful government of James, and the great authority, which he had acquired, had much allayed the passions, and had established law and order throughout the kingdom, the nobility were still possessed of the chief power and influence over the people. Their property was very extensive; their hereditary jurisdictions and their feudal tenures increased their authority; and the attachment of the gentry to the land or families established a kind of voluntary servitude under the elections. But that long absence had much loosened the King's communion with the nobility, who resided chiefly at their country seats; they were, in general, at this time, tho' not without cause, very much disgusted with the court. Charles, from the natural pique or superstition of his temper, was extremely attached to the commons: And as it is natural for men to persuade themselves, that their largest coincides with their inclination, he had established it as a fixed maxim of policy, to increase the power and authority of that order. The prince, he thought, established regularity and discipline among the clergy; the clergy influenced obedience and loyalty among the people: And as that rank of men had no separate authority, and no dependence but on the crown, the royal power, it would seem, might, with the greatest safety, be entrusted in their hands. Many of the prelates, therefore, he raised to the chief dignities of the state: Some were, as Archbishop of St. Andrews, was created chancellor: None of the bishops were privy counsellors: The bishop of Ross assisted to the chief of treasure: Some of the cardinals possessed places in the exchequer: And he was even prevailed to revive the lost institution of the college of bishops, and to transfer to them the clergy and bury the whole influence of the church. These measures, which were possessed by the church, and which the nobles could not resist, without considerable difficulty, destroyed the haughty nobility, and the commons, who were a much superior in rank and quality to this new order of men, were enabled to exert their given inferior in power and influence. The nobles, who were formerly the only order; and before a nobility, tho' the episcopacy, which was the nobility, had been pillaged by the nobles, should have been consumed at their expense. By

Chap. IV. a most useful and beneficent law, the impropriations had already been ravished
 1667. from the great men : Power had been given to assign, to the impoverished clergy, competent livings from the tythes of each parish : And what remained, the proprietor of the land was impowered to purchase at a low valuation. The King likewise, warranted by antient law and practice, had declared for a general resumption of all crown-lands, alienated by his predecessors ; and tho' he took no step towards the execution of this project, the very pretension to such power had excited jealousy and discontent.

NOTWITHSTANDING the tender regard, which Charles bore to the whole church, he had been able in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the superior rank among the clergy. The ministers, in general, equalled, if not exceeded the nobility, in their prejudices against the court, against the prelates, and against episcopal authority. Tho' the establishment of the hierarchy might seem advantageous to the inferior clergy, both as it erected dignities, to which all of them might aspire, and as it bestowed a lustre on the whole body, and allured men of family into it ; these views had no influence on the Scotch ecclesiastics. In the present disposition of men's minds, there was another circumstance, which drew consideration, and counter-balanced power and riches, the usual foundations of distinction among men ; and that was, the fervour of piety, and the rhetoric, however barbarous, of religious lectures and discourses. Checked by the prelates in the licence of preaching, the clergy regarded episcopal jurisdiction both as a tyranny and an usurpation, and maintained a parity among ecclesiastics to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. While such ideas prevailed, the most moderate exercise of authority would have given disgust ; much more, that extensive power, which the King's indulgence encouraged the prelates to assume. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts was, in a manner, abolished by the bishops ; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for several years. A new oath was arbitrarily exacted of intrants, by which they swore to observe the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons. And in a word, the whole system of church government, during a course of thirty years, had been changed by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles.

THE people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents, which prevailed among these two orders ; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland ; and among these, who were more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree

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some grounds for denying the authority of all their acts. Charles, sensible, that an extorted consent, attended with such invidious circumstances, would rather be prejudicial to his measures, had intirely laid aside the use of assemblies, and was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himself fully intitled, and which he believed absolutely uncontrollable.

THE King's great aim was to compleat the work, so happily begun by his father; to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms intirely regular and uniform. Some views of policy might move him to this undertaking: But the chief motives were derived from mistaken principles of zeal and conscience.

Introduction
of the canons
and liturgy.

THE canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the nation, tho' without much appearing opposition, yet with great inward apprehension and discontent. Men felt displeasure, at seeing the royal authority so highly exalted by them, and represented as absolute and uncontrollable. They saw these speculative principles reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established, without any previous consent either of church or state: They dreaded, that, by a parity of reason, like arbitrary authority, from like pretences and principles, would be assumed in civil matters: They remarked, that the delicate boundaries, which separate church and state, were already passed, and many civil ordinances established by the canons, under pretext of ecclesiastical institutions: And they were apt to deride the negligence, with which these important edicts had been compiled; when they found, that the new liturgy or service-book was every where, under severe penalties, enjoined by them, tho' it had not yet been composed or published. It was, however, soon expected; and in the reception of it, as the people are always most affected by what is external and exposed to the senses, it was apprehended, that the chief difficulty would consist.

THE liturgy, which the King, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, was copied from that of England: But lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his antient kingdom, a very few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh. But the Scotch had universally entertained a notion, that, tho' riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine, than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, tho' separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primi-

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tive politicians; and the hierarchy was represented as a species of male, that cast some bels, blow and embroilers. Great preparations to resist, were entered against it, even considered in detail; men of letters, who imagined a progressive, which was soon to succeed in to be the end of all the abuses of the papacy. And as the very few iterations, which were made, the new strategy from the English, it and the approach nearer the doctrine of the new preachers, the circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every doctrine, with which the papacy were polluted.

The pope was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh. But in order to judge more fairly of men's dispositions, the council delayed the matter, till the 23^d of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symptoms of discontent appeared, they thought, that they might safely proceed in their purpose; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrived in his bishop's, began the service; the bishop himself, and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the men of the court, most of them young, clapping their hands, singing, and crying out, *adieu à la messe romaine!* *bon jour à la messe anglaise!* raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: The council were invited: And it was with difficulty, that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to quell the rabble, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: Stones were thrown at the doors and windows: And when the service was ended, the bishop, partly alone, was attacked, and severely wounded the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the Lord provost, because he married the bishop in his speech, was so pelted with stones, that he was almost exterminated, and perished upon the spot. The populace, that if they could have driven him out, had not kept him off, the bishop had not the same of being able to do.

Had it not been already supposed, that the law, which was alone supposed, had been made, the force of popular emotions, yet so great as to conquer the passions of all and every disposition with the suggestions of the necessities of the people multiplied. It is true, that in the afternoon, the magistrates made a bold attempt to send the angry crowd the populace out, but the crowd so supported and increased. The bishop, however, when the king's government was directed in the morning, that instead of sending, they should send them out, either in their judgments against it, or some other measures, rather than to make

English

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12th of Oct. burgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke out into the most violent disorder. The bishop of Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber, where the privy council was sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: The town-council met with the same fate: And nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; tho' no body of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them.

ALL men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations, introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: The women took party, and, as is usual, with great violence: The clergy, every where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same: The pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist: And the populace, who first opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself, stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In short, fanaticism mingling with faction, private interest with the spirit of liberty, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

THE primate, a man of wisdom and moderation, who was all along averse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the King the state of the nation: The Earl of Traquair, Lord treasurer, set out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him: Every circumstance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland was considered, should have engaged him to desist from so hazardous an attempt: Yet was Charles inflexible. In his whole conduct of this affair, there appeared no marks of the good sense, with which he was undoubtedly endowed: A lively instance of that species of character, so frequently to be met with; where there are found parts and judgment in every discourse and opinion; in many actions, indiscretion and imprudence. Men's views of things are the result of their understanding alone: Their conduct is regulated by their understanding, their temper, and their passions.

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12th of Feb. To so violent a combination of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the Earl of Hume and Lord Lincolne: And this was
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Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms. And the discontents in England, tho' secret, were believed so violent, that the King, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ in such a cause the power of that nation. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehensions did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigorously did they insist on intire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they plainly told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism: And the ministers invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it; by informing him, " With what peace and comfort it had filled the
" hearts of all God's people; what resolutions and beginnings of reformation of
" manners were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation, above any measure
" they had ever before found or could have expected; how great glory the
" Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had, that God would
" make Scotland a blessed kingdom."

HAMILTON returned to London: Made another fruitless journey, with new concessions, to Edinburgh: Returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The King was now willing
17th of Sep. intirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission-court. He was even resolved to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and was content, if, on any terms, he could retain that order in the church of Scotland. And to ensure all these gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon first an assembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. These successive concessions of the King, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malecontents, discovered his own weakness, encouraged their insolence, and gave no satisfaction. The offer, however, of an assembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be intirely masters, was very willingly embraced by all the covenanters.

CHARLES, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and he ordered one to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery above-mentioned; which, tho' the King did not approve of it, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove all the suspicions, entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the King; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the subscribers duty and loyalty to his Majesty. But the covenanters, perceiving, that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation.

And

And without delay, they proceeded to the modelling the future assembly, from which such great achievements were expected.

The genius of that religion, which prevailed in Scotland, and which, every day, was secretly gaining ground in England, was far from insinuating deference and submission to the ecclesiastics, merely as such: Or, rather, by exalting in every individual, the highest raptures and extasies of devotion, it constituted, in a manner, every individual, and, in his own eyes, bestowed a character so much superior to what forms and ceremonious institutions could assume center. The clergy of Scotland, tho' such tumult was excited about religious worship and discipline, were both poor, and in small numbers; nor are they, in general, to be considered, at least in the beginning, as the ringleaders of the sedition, which was raised on their account. On the contrary, the laity, apprehending, from several instances, which occurred, a spirit of moderation in that order, resolved to domineer intirely in the assembly, which was summoned, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics by the same furious zeal, with which they were themselves transported.

It had been usual, before the establishment of presby, for each presbytery to send to the assembly, besides two or three ministers, one lay-commissioner; and, as the burroughs and universities sent likewise commissioners, the lay-minister, in that ecclesiastical court, very readily equalled the ecclesiastical. Not only this innovation, which James, apprehensive of zeal in the laity, had abolished, was now revived by the covenanters: They also introduced an innovation, which seemed calculated to reduce the clergy to subjection. By an edict of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder, from each parish, was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be deputed to the assembly. As it had been usual for the ministers, who are put in the list of candidates, to claim a vote, the whole elections, by that means, fell into the hands of the laity: The most famous of all ranks were chosen: And the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was taken upon, or devised, to every commissioner, four or five lay-assistors, who, tho' they could have no vote, yet might interpose with their counsel and authority in the assembly.

The assembly met at Glasgow: And, besides an infinite concourse of people, from all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest in that part, other as ministers, assistants, or spectators; and it was agreed, that the ministers, called by the covenanters, could here meet with no number of oppositors. A new determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and before

Chap. IV. 1638. read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime, which had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and, in his Majesty's name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. The whole acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, were, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy, the high-commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful: And the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

Episcopacy
abolished.

THE independence of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power was the old presbyterian principle, which had been zealously adopted at the reformation, and which, tho' James and Charles had obliged the church publicly to disclaim it; had secretly been adhered to by all ranks of people. It was commonly asked; whether Christ or the King was superior: And as the answer seemed obvious, it was inferred, that the assembly, being Christ's council, was superior, in all spiritual matters, to the parliament, which was only the King's. But as the covenanters were sensible, that this consequence, tho' it seemed to them irrefragable, would not be assented to by the King; it became requisite to maintain their religious tenets by military force, and not to trust intirely to supernatural assistance, of which, however, they held themselves well assured. They cast their eyes on all sides, abroad and at home, whence-ever they could expect any aid or support.

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AFTER France and Holland had entered into a league against Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to conquer and to divide between them the low-country-provinces, England was invited to preserve a neutrality between the contending parties, while the French and Dutch should attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the King replied to d'Eftrades, the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a squadron ready, and would cross the seas, if necessary, with an army of 15,000 men, in order to prevent these projected conquests. This answer, which proves, that

Charles,

Charles, tho' he expressed his mind with an imprudent candor, had, at last, acquired a just idea of national interest, irritated extremely Cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that politic and enterprising minister carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to fortify them in their opposition against their sovereign.

But the chief resource of the Scotch malcontents, was in themselves, and in their own vigour and ability. No regular established commonwealth could take better measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious triffles, and faction without a reasonable object. The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged; and the men of greatest ability, soon acquired the ascendancy, which their industry enabled them to maintain. The Earl of Argyll, tho' he long seemed to temporize, had, at last, embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party: A man equally supple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a furious and turbulent period. The Earls of Rothes, Crail, Montrose, Lothian, the Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. The command was entrusted to Leslie, a soldier of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles, which belonged to the King, being unprovided of victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small part, where the Marquess of Huntley still adhered to the King, being in the covenanters hands, was, in a very little time, put into a formidable posture of defence.

The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity. Besides the interior fort, and those who laboured for pay, in remote numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and deemed the most abject employment to be dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Women too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the Irish rabble, and carried on their shoulders, the rubbish requisite for completing the fortifications.*

We must not omit another auxiliary of the covenanters, and not less remarkable; a prophetess, who was much followed and assisted by thousands of people. Her name was Mitchellon, a woman full of enthusiasm, partly religious,

* Clarendon's Memoirs.

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partly religious; and inflamed with a zealous concern for the ecclesiastical discipline of the presbyterians. She spoke only at certain times, and had often interruptions of days and weeks: But when she began to renew her ecstasies, warning of the happy event was conveyed over the whole country, thousands crowded about her house, and every word, which she uttered, was received with veneration, as the most sacred oracles. The covenant was her perpetual theme. The true, genuine covenant, she said, was ratified in heaven: The King's covenant was an invention of Satan: When she spoke of Christ, she commonly called him by the name of the covenanting Jesus. Rollo, a popular preacher, and zealous covenanter, was her great favourite; and payed her, on his part, no less veneration. Being desired by the spectators to pray with her, and speak to her, he answered; "That he durst not, and that it would be ill manners in him " to speak, while his master Christ was speaking in her*."

CHARLES had agreed to reduce episcopal authority so much, that it would no longer have been of any service to support the crown; and this sacrifice of his own interest he was willing to make, in order to obtain public peace and tranquillity. But he could not consent entirely to abolish an order, which he esteemed as essential to the being of a christian church, as his scotch subjects thought it incompatible with that sacred institution. The narrowness of mind, if we would be impartial, we must either blame or excuse equally on both sides; and thereby anticipate, by a little reflection, that judgment, which time, by introducing new subjects of controversy, will undoubtedly render quite familiar to posterity.

So great was Charles's aversion to violent and sanguinary measures, and so strong his affection to his native kingdom, that, it is probable, the contest in his breast would be nearly equal between these laudable passions, and his attachment to the hierarchy. The latter affection, however, prevailed for the time, and made him hasten those military preparations, which he had projected for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scotch nation. By regular oeconomy, he had not only payed all the debts contracted during the Spanish and French wars; but had amassed a sum of 200,000 pounds, which he reserved for any sudden exigency. The Queen had great interest with the catholics, both from the sympathy of religion, and from the favours and indulgences, which she had been able to procure them. She now employed her credit, and persuaded them, that it was reasonable to give large contributions, as a mark of their duty to the King, during this urgent necessity. A considerable supply was gained by this means; to the great scandal of the puritans, who were mightily offended at seeing the King

on

* King's declaration, at large; Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

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to attain the same indulgence. To advance so far, without bringing the rebels to a total submission, at least to reasonable concessions, was to promise them, in all future time, an impunity for rebellion.

On the other hand, Charles considered, that Scotland was never before, under any of his ancestors, so united, and so animated in its own defence; and yet had often been able to foil or elude the force of England, combined heartily in one cause, and enured by long practice to the use of arms. How much greater difficulty would he find, at present, to subdue by violence a people, enflamed with religious prejudices; while he could only oppose to them a nation, enervated by long peace, and lukewarm in his service; or what was more to be feared, many of them engaged in the same party with the enemy. Should the war be only protracted beyond a summer; (and who could expect to finish it in that period?) his treasure would fail him, and, for supply, he must have recourse to an English parliament, whom, by fatal experience, he had ever found more ready to encroach on the prerogatives, than to aid the necessities, of the crown. And what if he receive a defeat from the rebel army? This misfortune was far from impossible. They were engaged in a national cause, and strongly actuated by mistaken principles. His army was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the same indifference, which naturally belongs to mercenary troops, without possessing the discipline, by which such troops are commonly distinguished. And the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was enraged and England discontented, were so dreadful, that no motive should persuade him to venture it.

It is evident, that Charles, by mistakes and oversights, had brought himself to such a situation, that, whatever side he embraced, his errors must be dangerous: No wonder, therefore, he was in great perplexity. But he did infinitely worse, than embrace the worst party: For, properly speaking, he embraced no party at all. He concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, That he should withdraw his fleet and army; that, within eight and forty hours, the Scotch should dismiss their forces; that the King's forts should be restored to him; his authority acknowledged; and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences. What were the *reasons*, which engaged the King to admit such strange articles of peace, it is in vain to enquire: For there could be none. The *causes* of that event may admit of a more easy explication.

The malecontents had been very industrious, in representing to the English, the grievances, under which Scotland laboured, and the ill councils, which had been suggested to their sovereign. Their liberties, they said, were invaded:

The

The prerogatives of the crown extended beyond all former precedent: Illegal courts erected: The hierarchy exalted at the expence of national privileges: And so many new superstitions introduced by the haughty tyrannical prelates, as legot a just satisfaction, that a project was seriously formed for the restoration of popery. The King's conduct, chiefly, in Scotland, had been, in every thing, except in establishing the ecclesiastical canons, more legal and equitable, than in England; yet was there still a general sentiment in the commons of that kingdom, that the English readily assented to all the representations of the Scottish ministers, and believed that nation to have been delivered by oppression, into the violent council, which they had embraced. So far, therefore, from being willing to second the King in subduing the free spirits of the Scots; they rather rejoiced that unhappy people, who had been reduced to those extremities: And they thought, that the example of such neighbours, as well as their assistance, might, some time, be advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the court, without command in the army, attended in great numbers the English camp, graciously seized, and propagated, the new authority to take testaments: A retreat, very little honourable, which the Parliament held, with a considerable detachment of the English forces, had made here a detachment of the Scotch, caused all these humours to blaze up together. And the King, whose character was not sufficiently vigorous nor decided, and who was apt, from frailty, to embrace silly counsels, readily assented to a measure, which was recommended by all about him, and which favoured his natural propension towards the misguided subjects of his native kingdom.

CHARLES, having so far advanced in pacific measures, might, with a steady resolution, to have prosecuted them; and have illustrated in every terrible condition, demanded by the assembly and parliament, nor should he have recommended holiness, but on account of his ambition and unexpected pretensions, as would have justified his cause, if possible, to the whole English nation. So far, indeed, he adopted this plan, that he agreed, not only to confirm his former concessions, of abolishing the canons, the *Interdict*, the *Beneficium*, and the articles of Perth; but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, or words to that effect, already contended. But this concession was passed, by the utmost violence, when he could not upon his disposition and prejudices. He even directly refused an intimation of taking favourable opportunities, to settle, to remove, the bishops, which he had said: And one day Charles III could not prevail with Charles I.

Chap. IV. self to advance. The assembly, when it met, payed not due deference to the
^{1639.}
 August 17th. King's prepossessions, but gave full indulgence to their own. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: He was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of that church. They stigmatised the liturgy and canons, as popish: He agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high commission, tyranny: He was content to set it aside. The parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions, which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and what probably affected Charles much more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the King's instructions, Traquaire, the commissioner, prorogued them. And on account of these
 War renewed. claims, which might easily have been foreseen, was the war renewed; with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the King.

No sooner had Charles concluded the pacification without conditions, than the necessity of his affairs, and his want of money, obliged him to disband his army; and, as they had been held together solely by mercenary views, it was not possible, without great trouble, and expence, and loss of time, again to assemble them. The more prudent covenanters had concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interest, and still more to the inclinations, of the King, it was likely, that they would again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and they were therefore careful, in dismissing their troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: The soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: And the religious zeal, which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards, so soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders. The credit, which, in their last expedition, they had acquired, by obliging their sovereign to depart from all his pretensions, gave courage to every one, in undertaking this new enterprize.

1640.
 April 13th. 4th English parliament. THE King, with great difficulty, made shift to draw together an army: But soon found, that, all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenues would be insufficient to support them. An English parliament, therefore, formerly so unkind and intractable, must now, after above eleven years intermission, after trying many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied disgusts given to the puritanical party, be summoned to assemble, amidst the most pressing necessities of the crown.

Chap. IV. dangers and hardships, had made to them; the minds of men, throughout the
 1640. nation, had taken such a turn as to ascribe every honour to the refractory opposers of the King and the ministers. These were the only patriots, the only lovers of their country, the only heroes, and, perhaps too, the only true christians. A reasonable compliance with the court, was slavish dependance; a regard to the King, servile flattery; a confidence in his promises, shameful prostitution. This general cast of thought, which has, more or less, prevailed in England, during near a century and a half, and which has been the cause of much good and much ill in public affairs, never predominated more than during the reign of Charles. The present house of commons, being composed intirely of country-gentlemen, who came into parliament with all their native prejudices about them, could not fail to contain a majority of these stubborn patriots.

Affairs likewise, by means of the Scotch insurrection, and the general discontent in England, were drawing so near a crisis, that the leaders of the house, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope, that the time, so long wished for, was now come, when royal authority must fall into a total subordination to popular assemblies, and when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. By reducing the crown to necessities, they had hitherto found, that the King had been pushed into violent councils, which had served extremely the purposes of his adversaries: And by multiplying these necessities, it was foreseen, that his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must, at last, be overthrown, and be no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Whatever, therefore, tended to compose the differences between King and parliament, and to preserve the government uniformly in its present channel, was zealously opposed by these popular leaders; and their past conduct and sufferings gave them credit sufficient to effect all their purposes.

'Tis the situation which decides chiefly of the fortunes and characters of men. The King, it must be owned, tho' praiseworthy in many respects, was not endowed with that masterly genius, which might enable him to observe, in their infancy, the changes that arose in national manners, and know how to accommodate his conduct to them. He had not perceived, that his best policy was not, by opposition, much less by invasions and encroachments, to enrage the republican spirit of the people; but that he ought, by gently departing from some branches of his hereditary authority, to endeavour, as far as possible, to preserve the rest from the inroads of his jealous subjects. Still tenacious of his prerogative, he found, that he could not preserve the old claims of the crown without assuming new ones: A principle similar to that which many of his subjects seem to have formed with regard to the liberties of the people.

THE house of commons, therefore, moved by these and many other other reasons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against the church fel-
 jets, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a speech, which Pym made them on that subject, was much more successful than that which the Lord keeper had delivered them in the name of their sovereign. The subject of Pym's harangue has been sufficiently explained above; where we gave an account of all the grievances, inasmuch as the church, more than in the state, of which the nation, at that time, so much complained. The house began with examining the behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former parliament; when he refused, on account of the King's command, to put the question. And they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to enquire into the imprisonment and protection of Sir John Elliot, Pym, and Valentine. The affair of ship-money was canvassed: And plentiful subject of inquiry was suggested on all hands. Grievances were regularly checked under three heads; first with regard to the privileges of parliament, the property of the subject, and religion. The king, being a large and inexhaustible field opened, pressed them again for supplies and finding his message ineffectual, he came to the house of peers, and desired their good offices with the commons. The peers were very sensible of the King's urgent necessities; and thought, that supplies, on this occasion, ought, both in reason and in decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to represent their sense of the matter to the commons; but their intercession did harm. The commons had always claimed, as their primary business, the granting supplies; and, tho' the peers had gone no farther than offering advice, they immediately thought proper to vote so unusual and unprecedented an interposition to be a breach of privilege. Charles in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, followed the house with new messages. And finding, that the bulwarks of ship-money gave great alarm and disgust; resolved, following time, that he never intended to make a constant revenue of it, that all the money levied had been a necessity, with other great sums, expended on equipping the navy; and now want to raise, to offer them entirely to abolish that impious tax, or any other which the commons should think proper to present to him. In return he asked only for his urgent necessities, a supply of twelve subsidies, about 100,000 pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the same time, he let them know, that, considering the situation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial. However, tho' the majority was against him, never did more flames in any assembly of commons; and the debate was carried on for two days, with great vehemence on both sides.

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IT was urged by the partizans of the court, That the happiest occasion, which the fondest wishes could suggest, was now presented, of composing all disgusts and jealousies between King and people, and of reconciling their sovereign, for ever, to the use of parliaments. That if they, on their part, laid aside all enormous claims and pretensions, and provided, in a reasonable manner, for the public necessities; they needed entertain no suspicion of any insatiable ambition or illegal usurpation in the crown. That tho' due regard had not always been paid, during this reign, to the rights of the people, yet no invasion of them had been altogether deliberate and voluntary; much less, the result of wanton tyranny and injustice; and still less, of a formed design to subvert the constitution. That to repose a reasonable confidence in the King, and generously supply his present wants, which proceeded neither from prodigality nor misconduct, would be the true way to gain on his generous nature, and to extort, by a gentle violence, such concessions as were requisite for the establishment of public liberty. That he had promised, not only on the word of a prince, but also on that of a gentleman (the expression which he had been pleased to use) that, after the supply was granted, the parliament should still have liberty to continue their deliberations: Could it be suspected, that any man, any prince, much less such a one, whose word was, as yet, sacred and inviolate, would, for so small a motive, forfeit his honour, and, with it, all future trust and confidence. by breaking a promise, so public and so solemn? That even if the parliament should be deceived in reposing this confidence in him, they neither lost any thing, nor incurred any danger; since it was evidently necessary, for the security of public peace, to supply him with money, in order to suppress the Scotch rebellion. That he had so far suited his first demands to their prejudices, that he only asked a supply for a few months, and was willing, after so short a trust, to fall again into dependence, and to trust them for his farther support and subsistence. That if he now seemed to desire something farther, he also made them, in return, a considerable offer, and was willing, for the future, to depend on them for a revenue, which was quite requisite for public honour and security. That the nature of the English constitution supposed a mutual confidence between king and parliament: And if they should refuse it on their part, especially with circumstances of such outrage and indignity; what could be expected but a total dissolution of government, and violent factions, followed by the most dangerous convulsions and intestine disorders?

IN opposition to these arguments, it was urged by the malecontent party, That the court had discovered, on their side, but few symptoms of that mutual trust and confidence, to which they now so kindly invited the commons. That eleven years

years intermission of parliament, the longest which was to be found in the whole English annals, was a sufficient indication of the jealousy entertained against the people; or rather of design formed for the suppression of all their liberties and privileges. That the mind might well be thus exalted, and could long remain so, is a strong proof of some inveterate malady; even though ending in a malady, in which they had consented to violent anarchy, as the usual end of an English parliament. That the minority, however, was grossly mistaken, not to doubt. And if the three grievances, ecclesiastical and civil, under which the nation then laboured, had pushed the State to extremities, was it equitable, that the English should charge their own chains, by imposing them on their unhappy neighbours? That the ancient practice of parliaments was to give grievances the precedence of supply; and that this order, so carefully observed by their ancestors, was founded on a *primary* inherent in the constitution, and when ever interpreted as any particular ill-humour at the present government. That a practice, which had been upheld, during times the most favourable to liberty, could not, in common prudence, be departed from, where such undeniable reasons for suspension had been established. That it was reasonable to press the demand to this, and the urgent occasion for supply; when it partly appeared, that, in order to answer a justice for this respect, and to seduce the commons, great political contrivance had been employed. That the writs for elections were filled out in the winter; and if the meeting of the parliament had not purposely been delayed, till so near the commencement of military operations, there had been time sufficient to have redressed all national grievances, and to have proceeded afterwards to an examination of the King's occasion for supply. That the suggestion of a grove an article was to engage the commons, under pretence of *supply*, to violate the regular order of parliament; and a precedent of that kind being once established, no inquiry into public measures would afterwards be possible. That no argument, more unfavourable, could be pressed for itself, than that a tax which *disproportion*; a taxation, the most illegal and oppressive, which had ever in any reign, been imposed upon the nation. And that, by the urgency for the remission of that duty, the commons would be *deceived* into a submission to an authority, by which it had been levied; or a body, *grossly deceived* into a submission to new pretensions of a like nature, in hopes of *relieving* themselves from their present oppressive conditions.

These reasons, joined to so many occasions of ill humour, *deserve* to have been the greater number: But to make the matter worse, Sir Henry Vane, the secretary, told the commons, without any authority from the King, that *twenty* four or twelve subsidies would be accepted as a recompence for the detraction

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of ship-money. This assertion, proceeding from the indiscretion, if we are not rather to call it, the treachery of Vane, displeased the house, by showing a stiffness and rigidity in the King, which, in a claim so ill grounded, was deemed inexcusable. We are informed likewise, that some men, who were thought to understand the state of the nation, affirmed in the house, that the amount of twelve subsidies was a greater sum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times, with regard to taxes !

THE King was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw, that his friends in the house, were out-numbered by his enemies, and that the same councils were still prevalent, which had ever bred such opposition and disturbance. Instead of hoping, that any supply would be given him, to carry on war against the Scotch, whom the majority of the house regarded as their best friends and firmest allies ; he expected every day, that they would present him an address for making peace with those rebels. And if the house met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly pass, to blast his revenue of ship-money ; and thereby renew all the opposition, which, with so much difficulty, he had surmounted, in levying that taxation. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is very difficult to follow the best councils ; nor is it any wonder, that the King, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should hastily have formed and executed a resolution of dissolving this parliament : A measure, however of which he soon after repented, and which the subsequent events, more than any convincing reason, inclined every one to condemn. The last parliament, which had ended with such rigour and violence, had yet, at first, covered their intentions with a greater appearance of moderation than this parliament had hitherto assumed.

Dissolution.

An abrupt and violent dissolution must necessarily excite great discontents among the people, who usually put intire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all grievances. As if there were not already sufficient grounds of complaint, the King persevered still in those councils, which, from experience, he might have been sensible, were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and Sir John Hotham were summoned before the council ; and refusing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were committed to prison. All the petitions and complaints, which had been sent to the committee of religion, were demanded from Crew, chairman to that committee ; and on his refusal to deliver them, he was sent to the Tower. The studies and even the pockets of the Earl of Warwick and Lord Brooke, before the expiration of privilege, were searched, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. These acts

of authority were interpreted, with some appearance of reason, to be invasion on the rights of national assembly. But the King, after the first provocation, which he met with, never respected sufficiently the privileges of the parliament; and, by his example, he farther confirmed their resolution, when they should acquire power, to pay like disregard to the prerogatives of the crown.

Tho' the parliament was dissolved, the convocation was still allowed to fix a practice, of which, since the reformation, there were but few instances*, and which was, for that reason, supposed to be singular. Bishops granted to the King a supply from the spirituality, and training many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with those, which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the universities, by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c. These steps, in the present discontented humour of the nation, were commonly deemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of parliament, in whom all authority was supposed to be centered. And nothing, besides, could afford greater matter of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an *et cetera* in the midst of it.

The people, who generally abhorred the convocation as much as they adored the parliament, could scarce be kept from insulting and abusing this assembly; and the King was obliged to set guards, in order to protect them. An attack too was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above two hundred persons; and he found it necessary to fortify himself for his defence. A multitude of two thousand sectaries entered St. Paul's, where the high commission men sat; tore down all the benches; and cried out, No bishops, no episcopacy. All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution; had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it.

In this disposition of men's minds, it was in vain, that the King issued a declaration, in order to convince his people of the necessity, which he lay under, of dissolving the last parliament. The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the commons imitated the bad example of his predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in changing his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for

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Supply;

* The same custom is still preserved at Antwerp, Leod, &c. The council of the emperor was wont to grant a supply to the parliament, and then to dissolve it, and to call another parliament, and to grant a supply to that.

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supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy *.

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* It must be confessed, that the King here touched upon that circumstance in the English constitution, which it is most difficult, or rather altogether impossible, to regulate by laws, and which must be governed by certain delicate ideas of propriety and decency, rather than by any exact rule or prescription. To deny the parliament all right of remonstrating against what they esteem grievances, were to reduce that assembly to a total insignificance, and to deprive the people of every advantage, which they could reap from popular councils. To complain of the parliament's employing the power of taxation, as the means of extorting concessions from their sovereign, were to expect, that they would intirely disarm themselves, and renounce the sole expedient, provided by the constitution, for ensuring to the kingdom a just and legal administration. In all periods of English history, there occur instances of their remonstrating with their princes in the freest manner, and of their refusing supply, when disgusted with any circumstance of public conduct. 'Tis, however, certain, that this power, tho' essential to parliaments, may easily be abused, as well by the frequency and minuteness of their remonstrances, as by their intrusion into every part of the king's councils and determinations. Under colour of advice, they may give disguised orders; and in complaining of grievances, they may draw to themselves every power of government. Whatever measure is embraced, without consulting them, may be pronounced an oppression of the people; and till corrected, they may refuse the most necessary supplies to their indigent sovereign. From the very nature of this parliamentary liberty, 'tis evident, that it must be left unbounded by law: For who can foretell, how frequently grievances may occur, or what part of administration may be affected by them? From the nature too of the human frame, it may be expected, that this liberty would be exerted in its full extent, and no branch of authority be allowed to remain unmolested in the hands of the prince: For, will the weak limitations of respect and decorum be sufficient to restrain human ambition, which so frequently breaks thro' all the prescriptions of law and justice?

But here it is observable, that the wisdom of the English constitution, or rather, the concurrence of accidents, has provided, in different periods, certain irregular checks to this privilege of parliament, and thereby maintained, in some tolerable measure, the dignity and authority of the crown.

In the ancient constitution, before the beginning of the seventeenth century, the meetings of parliament were precarious, and were not frequent. The sessions were very short; and the members had no leisure, either to get acquainted with each other, or with public business. The ignorance of the people made them more submissive to that authority, which governed them. And above all, the large revenues of the crown, with the small expence of government during that period, rendered the prince almost independent, and taught the parliament to preserve a great submission and duty towards him.

In our present constitution, new accidents, which have rendered governments, every where, as well as in Britain, much more burthensome than formerly, have given into the hands of the crown the disposal of a very large revenue, and have enabled the king, by the private interest and ambition of the members, to restrain the public interest and ambition of the body. While the opposition, (for

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Chap. IV. posed for coining 2 or 300,000 pounds of base money. Such were the extremi-
 1642. ties to which Charles was reduced. The fresh difficulties, which, amidst the present distresses, were, every day, raised, with regard to the payment of ship-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, augmented extremely the discontents of the people, and increased his indigence and necessities.

THE present expedients, however, enabled the King, tho' with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse. The Earl of Northumberland was appointed general: The Earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general: Lord Conway, general of the horse. A very small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition.

So great are the effects of zeal and unanimity, that the Scotch army, tho' somewhat superior, were sooner ready than the King's; and advanced to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the secret discontents of that kingdom, Lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of six noblemen, the most considerable of England, in which the Scotch were invited to assist their neighbours, in procuring a redress of their grievances. Notwithstanding these warlike preparations and hostile attempts, the covenanters still preserved the most pacific and most submissive language; and entered England, as they said, with no other view, than to obtain access to the King's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were opposed by a detachment of 4500 men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scotch first entreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. Such a panic seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire.

THE Scotch took possession of Newcastle; and tho' sufficiently elated with their victory, they preserved exact discipline, and persevered in their resolution of paying for every thing, in order to maintain still the appearance of an amicable correspondence with England. They also dispatched messengers to the King, who was arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage, which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

CHARLES was in a very distressed situation. The nation was universally and highly discontented. The army was discouraged, and began likewise to be dis-
 con-

10th of Aug.

28th of Aug.
 Rout at New-
 burn.

contented, both from the contagion of general disgust, and as an excuse for Chap. IV.
1642. their in-behaviour, which they were desirous of representing rather as want of will than of courage to fight. The treasury too was quite exhausted, and every expedient for a supply had been tried to the uttermost. No event had happened, but what might have been foreseen as necessary, or at least, very probable; yet such was the King's situation, that no provision could be made, nor was even any resolution taken, against such an exigency.

In order to prevent the advance of the Scotch upon him, the King agreed to a ^{party of} treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scotch ^{commissioners} at Rippon. The Earls of Hartford, Bedford, Salisbury, Warwick, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Berkshire, the Lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Darnley, Paget, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Effraie, were chosen by the King; all of them popular men, and consequently supposed no-wise averse to the Scotch invasion, nor unacceptable to that nation.

An address arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; the great point, to which all men's projects at this time tended. Twelve Noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose. But the King contented himself with summoning a great council of the peers to York; a measure, which had formerly been taken in cases of sudden emergency, but which, at present, could serve no manner of purpose. Perhaps, the King, who dreaded, above all things, the house of commons, and who expected no supply from them on any reasonable terms, thought, that, in his present urgent distresses, he might be enabled to levy subsidies by the authority of the peers alone. But the employing, so long, a plea of necessity, which was very distant and doubtful, rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of a necessity, which was now at last become real, urgent, and inevitable.

By Northumberland's sickness, the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. That Nobleman possessed more vigour of mind than the King or any of the council. He advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him. The King, detained at Newburg, he said, was inordinately, and tho' a panic had, for the time, seized the army, that was nothing strange among new levied troops; and the Scotch, being in the same condition, would, no doubt, be liable, in their turn, to a like accident. His opinion, therefore, was, that the King should push forward, and attack the Scotch, and bring the matter to a speedy ending; and, if ever to come distul, nothing would could befall him, than what, from his minority, he would certainly be exposed to. To move forward it would be to execute this project, he ordered an attempt to be made on the parts of the Scotch,

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and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had, as yet, been agreed to, during the treaty at Rippon; yet great clamour prevailed, on account of this act of hostility. And when it was known, that the officer, who conducted the attack, was a papist, a violent outcry was raised against the King, for employing that hated sect, in the murder of his protestant subjects.

It may be worthy of remark, that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops, when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered, merely on the suspicion of their being papists. The petition of right had abolished all courts-martial; and by an inconvenience, which naturally attended the plan, as yet, new and unformed, of regular and rigid liberty, it was found absolutely impossible for the generals to govern the army, by all the authority, which the King could legally confer upon them. The lawyers had declared, that martial law could not be exercised, except in the very presence of an enemy; and because it had been found requisite to execute a mutineer, the generals thought it advisable, for their safety, to apply for a pardon from the crown. This weakness, however, was carefully concealed from the army; and Lord Conway said, that, if any lawyer was so imprudent as to discover the secret to the soldiers, it would be necessary instantly to refute him, and to hang the lawyer himself, by sentence of a court-martial.

An army new levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation.

24th of Sep.

Great council
of the peers.

CHARLES, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last resolved to yield to it: And as he foresaw, that the great council of the peers would advise him to call a parliament, he told them, in his first speech, that he had already taken that resolution. He informed them likewise, that the Queen, in a letter, which she had wrote to him, had very earnestly recommended that measure. This good Prince, who was extremely attached to his consort, and who passionately wished to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidst all his distress, the interest of his domestic tenderness.

In order to subsist both armies (for the King was obliged, in order to save the northern counties, to pay his enemies) Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of 200,000 pounds. And the lords commissioners for the treaty, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the same request. So low was this Prince already fallen, in the eyes of his own subjects!

As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scotch, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: A proposal willingly embraced

France, Italy, the Spanish, who were now full of trading with advantage, in a place, CHAP. V.
where the King, that is, the law, would be, by common consent, a prisoner, in the midst of
a complete blockade, and their determined march.

C H A P. V.

*Murder in the long parliament.—Strafford and Laud impeached.—
Hampden and Whitbank fly.—Great authority of the commons.—
The bishops attacked.—Tonnage and poundage.—Arrested bill.
—Strafford's trial.—Bill of attainder.—Execution of Strafford.—
High-commission and star-chamber abolished.—King's journey
to Scotland.*

THE evils of dispute, which, for above thirty years, had, every day, been
increasing in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened
the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion. The uncertain and un-
defined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly disputed during that
whole period; and in every controversy between prince and people, the question,
however doubtful, had always been decided by each party, in favour of its own
particulars. Too deeply moved by the appearance of necessity, the King had
even assumed powers incommensurable with the principles of limited government,
and had rendered it impossible for his most zealous parliament entirely to satisfy
his conduct, except by some concessions, that they were more fitted, in the pre-
sent supposition of men's notions, to relieve than oppress, the general discontent.
The great supports of public authority, law and religion, had been long, by the
voluntary compliance of judges and prelates, but much of their influence over
the people, or rather, they had almost entirely gone over to the side of rebellion,
and increased the spirit of opposition and rebellion. The nobility, having learned
the King's habit to reward or punish by office and preferment, attached to their
min^{ist}ry, had been seized with the general discontent, and cowardly to show their
private antipathies, which they could already too much to preference. Scandal
circulated in the assemblies, more and more made by royal authority, even enter-
tained a hostility of the commons, whole enterprises for the regulation of
policy had even been carried with the appearance of parliamentary authority,
but it was no authority, because unsupported by law and custom. The spirit
of the Scotch independence, which the French had already begun to

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supply : Their union with the popular party in England brought great accession of authority to the latter : The near prospect of success roused all the latent murmurs and pretensions of the nation, which had hitherto been held in such violent constraint : And the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran so strong against the court, that the King was in no situation to refuse any reasonable pretensions of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting the powers of his prerogative. Even many exorbitant claims, in the present situation, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with.

THE triumph of the malecontents over the church was not yet so immediate or certain. Tho' the political and religious puritans mutually lent assistance to each other, there were many who joined the former, and yet declined all manner of connexion with the latter. The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the reformation : The Romish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government : The ancient fathers too bore testimony to episcopal jurisdiction : And tho' parity may seem at first to have had place among christian pastors, the period, during which it prevailed, was so short, that few undisputed traces of it remained in history. The bishops and their more zealous partizans inferred thence the divine indefeizable right of prelacy : Others regarded that institution as venerable and useful : And, if the love of novelty led some to adopt the new rites and discipline of the puritans ; the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church. It behoved, therefore, the zealous innovators in parliament, to proceed with some caution and reserve. By promoting all measures, which reduced the exorbitant powers of the crown, they hoped to disarm the King, whom they justly regarded, from principle, inclination, and policy, to be the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaiming against the supposed encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavoured to carry the nation, from a hatred of their persons, to an opposition against their office and character. And when men were enlisted in party, it would not be difficult, they thought, to lead them by degrees into many measures, for which they formerly entertained the greatest aversion. Tho' the new sectaries composed not, at first, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed, as is usual among innovators, with extreme zeal for their opinions. Their unsurmountable passion, disguised to themselves, as well as to others, under the appearance of holy fervours, was well qualified to make proselytes, and to seize the minds of the ignorant multitude. And one furious enthusiast was able, by his active industry, to surmount the indolent efforts of many sober and reasonable antagonists.

WHEN

Chap. V. enemy, being general of the king's forces, had there the chief command and
1640. authority.

STRAFFORD, first as deputy, then as Lord lieutenant, had governed Ireland during eight years with great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but with very little popularity. In a nation so averse to the English government and religion, these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, tho' to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, were, at bottom, haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed up at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him.

THE universal discontent, which prevailed in England against the court, was all pointed towards the earl of Strafford; tho' without any particular reason, but because he was the minister of state, whom the King most favoured and most trusted. His extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune considerable: Yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation. And his former associates in popular councils, finding, that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to sacrifice, as a victim to public justice.

STRAFFORD, sensible of the load of popular prejudices, under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance on the parliament; and he begged the King's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire; where many opportunities, he hoped, would offer, by reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had intire confidence in the Earl's capacity, thought, that his councils would be extremely useful, during the critical session, which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the King, little apprehensive, that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament.

11th of Nov. NO sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the house of commons. Pym, in a long, studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner, enumerated all the grievances, under which the nation laboured; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing intirely the frame of government, and subverting the antient laws and liberties of the kingdom.

Could

Could any thing, he said, increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of ministers; and that the virtues of the King had been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsels. We must inquire, adding, from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and tho' doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one, who challenges the intamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is intitled to the first place among the betrayers of their country. He is the Earl of Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces, where he has been entrusted with authority, has raised up monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary council. Some instances of imperious expositions, as well as actions, were given by Pym; who afterwards entered into a more personal attack on that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners. The austere genius of Strafford, occupied in the pursuits of ambition, had not rendered his heart altogether inaccessible to the tender passions, or rescued him from the dominion of the passions; and in that taken case, when the irregularities of passion were more reproachful than the most of his times, those weaknesses were thought worthy of being mentioned, together with his treasons, before so great an assembly. And upon the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the house to provide a remedy proportionable to the evil; and to prevent the farther mischief, fully to be apprehended from the influence, which this man had acquired over the measures and councils of their sovereign.

Sir John Clotworthy an Irish gentleman, Sir John Hotham of York-shire, and many others, entered into the same toms. And after several hours, spent in bitter invective, when the doors were locked, in order to prevent all discovery of their purpose; it was moved, in consequence of the resolution secretly taken, that Strafford should immediately be impeached of high treason. This motion was received with universal approbation; nor was there, in all the debate, one person, who offered to stop the torrent by any testimony in favour of the Earl's conduct. Lord Falkland alone, tho' known to be his enemy, modestly desired the house to consider, whether it would not better suit the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest, by a committee, many of those particulars, which had been mentioned, before they sent up an accusation against him. It was ingeniously answered by Pym, That such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed any farther in the prosecution: That

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when Strafford should learn, that so many of his enormities were discovered, his conscience would dictate his condemnation; and so great was his power and credit, he would immediately procure the dissolution of the parliament, or attempt some other desperate measure for his own preservation: That the commons were only accusers, not judges; and it was the province of the peers to determine, whether such a complication of enormous crimes, in one person, did not amount to the highest crime known by the law. Without farther debate, the accusation was voted: Pym was chosen to carry up the impeachment: Most of the house accompanied him on so agreeable an errand: And Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and who little expected so hasty a prosecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody with several symptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, as well as in his prosecutors.

Laud im-
peached.

In the inquiry concerning grievances and the censure of past measures, Laud could not long escape the severe scrutiny of the commons; who were led too, in their accusation of that prelate, as well by their prejudices against his whole order, as by the extreme antipathy, which his intemperate zeal had drawn upon him. After a deliberation, which scarce lasted half an hour, an impeachment for high treason was resolved on against this subject, the first, both in rank and in favour, throughout the kingdom. Tho' this incident, considering the example of Strafford's impeachment and the present disposition of the nation and parliament, needed be no surprize to him; yet was he betrayed into some passion, when the accusation was presented. *The commons themselves*, he said, *tho' his accusers, did not believe him guilty of the crime, with which they charged him*: An indiscretion, which, next day, upon more mature deliberation, he desired leave to retract; but so little favourable were the peers, that they refused him this advantage or indulgence. Laud was immediately, upon this general charge, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

The capital article, insisted on against these two great men, was the design, which the commons supposed to have been formed for subverting the laws and constitution of England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited authority into the kingdom. Of all the king's ministers, no one was so obnoxious in this respect as the Lord keeper, Finch. He it was, who, being speaker in the King's third parliament, had left the chair, and refused to put the question, when ordered by the house. The extrajudicial opinion of the judges in the case of ship-money had been procured by his intrigues, persuasions, and even menaces. In all unpopular and illegal measures, he was ever most active; and he was even believed to have declared publicly, that while he was keeper, an order of the council should always with him be equivalent to a law. To appease the rising

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the persons who had assumed them, declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expressed a degree and species of guilt, not exactly known nor ascertained. In consequence of that determination, many of the nobility and prime gentry of the nation, while only exerting, as they justly thought, the lawful rights of magistracy, unexpectedly found themselves involved in the crime of delinquency. And the commons reaped this multiplied advantage by their vote : They disarmed the crown ; they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty ; and they spread the terror of their own authority.

THE writs for ship money had been directed to the sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, and to levy them by their authority : Yet were all the sheriffs, and all those employed in that illegal service, voted by a very rigorous sentence, to be delinquents. The King, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong : His ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any violation of the constitution, were alone culpable.

ALL the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed, during so many years, in levying tonnage and poundage and the new impositions, were likewise declared criminal, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of 150,000 pounds.

EVERY discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high commission ; courts, which, from their very constitution, were arbitrary ; underwent a severe scrutiny : And all those, who had any hand in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. No minister of the King, no member of the council, but what found himself exposed by this determination.

THE judges, who had given their votes against Hambden in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. Berkeley, one of the judges of the king's bench, was seized by order of the house, even when sitting in his tribunal ; and all men saw with astonishment the irresistible authority of their jurisdiction.

THE sanction of the lords and commons, as well as that of the King, was declared necessary for the confirmation of all ecclesiastical canons : And this judgment, it must be confessed, however reasonable, at least useful, it would have been difficult to justify by any precedent*. But the present was no time for
question

* An act of parliament, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19. allowed the convocation with the King's consent to make canons. By the famous act of submission to that Prince, the clergy bound themselves to enact no canons without the King's consent. The parliament was never mentioned nor thought of. Such pretensions as the commons advanced at present, would, in any former age, have been deemed strange usurpations.

question or dispute. That decision, which abolished all legislative power except that of parliament, was requisite for completing the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematical. A great part of the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convention, found themselves exposed, by these new principles, to the imputation of delinquency.

The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, the most impolitic, the most oppressive, and even, excepting ship money, the most illegal, was the revival of monopolies, so to signify abolished, after reiterated endeavours, by a resolution of parliament. Sensible of this unhappy measure, the King had, at different seasons, during the time of his first expedition against Scotland, many of these destructive patents, and the rest were now annihilated by authority of parliament, and every one concerned in them declared delinquents. The commons carried so far their detestation of this odious measure, that they allowed a speaker which had formerly been seldom practised*, and expelled all their members who were merchants or professors: An artifice, by which, besides increasing their company, they weakened still farther the very final party, which the King found retained in the house. Meanwhile, a notorious monopoly, yet having a favourable aspect with the ruling party, was still allowed to keep his seat. In all elections, indeed, no fixed rule or decision was observed; and nothing farther was regarded than the affections and attachment of the parties. Bitter passions were too much heated to be cooled with any balance of justice, which served as so popular as those pursued by this house of commons.

The whole sovereign power being thus, in a manner, transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, changed in a moment, from a monarchy, almost absolute, to a pure democracy: the popular passions were willing, for some time, to suspend their active vigour, and to acknowledge their authority, before they proceeded to any violent exertion of it. Every day produced some new language on public grievances. The detestation of former usurpation, was farther enlivened: The names of liberty multiplied: And faithful to the true spirit of free government, an equal temperance was excited, by the view of a violated constitution, as by the ravages of the most enormous tyranny.

Now was the time, when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to

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* Charles the first was entirely new: but there are some instances of it in the reign of Elizabeth. D'Israeli, p. 296, 300.

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exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym, more fitted for use than ornament; matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience: Then was displayed the mighty ambition of Cromwell, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty; but whether founded in a love of power or zeal for liberty, is still, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: Then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and intire in his enmities and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends, which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means, which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.

So little apology would be received for past measures, so contagious the general spirit of dissent, that even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the authors of them. The lively and animated Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid Palmer. In this list too of patriot-royalists are found the virtuous names of Hyde and Falkland. Tho' in their ultimate views and intentions, these men differed widely from the former; in their present actions and discourse, an intire concurrence and unanimity was observed.

By the daily harangues and invectives against illegal usurpations, not only the house of commons inflamed themselves with the highest animosity towards the court: The nation caught new fire from the popular leaders, and seemed now to have made the first discovery of the many disorders of the government. While the law, in many instances, seemed to be violated, they went no farther than some secret and calm murmurs; but mounted up into rage and fury, as soon as the constitution was restored to its former integrity and vigour. The capital especially, being the seat of parliament, was highly animated with the spirit of mutiny and dissension. Tumults were daily raised; seditious assemblies encouraged; and every man, neglecting his own business, was wholly intent on the defence of liberty and religion. By stronger contagion, the popular affections were communicated from breast to breast, in this place of general rendezvous and society.

The names of members now first published and diffused, kept alive the animosity against the King's administration. The party, deluged over

to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. Vengeance was fully taken for that long silence and constraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their seditious zeal and calumny, more than by any art or eloquence of composition. Noise and rary, cant and hypocrisy, formed the sole rhetoric, which, during the tumult of various prejudices and passions, could be heard or attended to.

The severe sentence, which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, now suffered a revival from parliament. These libellers, far from being cowed by the rigorous punishments, which they had undergone, showed still a disposition of repeating their offence; and the ministers were afraid, lest new satyres should issue from their prisons, and inflame still farther the prevailing discords. By an order, therefore, of the council, they had been removed to remote prisons; Bastwick to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink and paper, was retailed them. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: Even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal; and the judges, who passed it, were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended with a mighty concourse of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, the whole inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased, as they drew near to London. Several miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphal entrance: Banners were carried in the tumultuous procession; the roads strewed with flowers; and amidst the highest excitations of joy, were intermingled loud and violent accusations against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such pious puritans. The more ignominious men were, the more sensible was the multitude to their authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of dissension and malignity, which it sowed among the people.

For a time, Laud, and every one, who had been expelled from office, and during the present administration, now recovered their liberty, and were without damages on the judges and ministers concerned.

Not only the present dissensions of the nation, continued to multiply, but that more violent method of faction and dissension, which was invented by the leaders

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of popular discontent. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints, which they contained.

'Tis pretended by historians favourable to the royal cause*, and even asserted by the King himself in a declaration†, that a most dissingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these addresses. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as men of character willingly subscribed. The names were afterwards torn off, and affixed to another petition, which served better the purposes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury, which prevailed throughout the nation, when so scandalous an imposture, which affected such numbers of people, could be openly practised, without drawing infamy and ruin upon the managers.

So many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without doors, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged, each of them, with the examination of some particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of. Besides the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws; many subdivisions of these were framed, and a strict scrutiny was every where carried on. 'Tis to be remarked, that, before the beginning of this century, when the parliament assumed less influence and authority, complaints of grievances were usually presented to the house, by any members, who had had particular opportunity of observing them. These general committees, which were a kind of inquisitorial courts, had not then been established; and we find, that the King, in a former declaration‡, complains loudly of this innovation, so little favourable to royal authority. But never was so much multiplied, as at present, the use of these committees; and the commons, tho' they themselves were the greatest innovators, employed the usual artifice of complaining against innovations, and pretending to recover the antient and established government.

From the reports of their committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and enflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hambden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions of knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of the administration treated with reproach and obloquy. To day,

* Dugdale, Clarendon.
parliament

† Hist. Coll. p. 536.

‡ Published on dissolving the third

day, a sentence of the star-chamber was exclaimed against: To-morrow, a decree of the high commission. Every discretionary act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical: And the general inference was facilitated, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the whole laws and constitution of the kingdom.

From necessity, the King remained entirely passive during all these violent operations. The few servants, who continued faithful to him, were forced with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, encompassed all those, who, from interest or habit, were most attached to monarchy. And as for those, who maintained their duty to the King, merely from their regard to the constitution, they seemed, by their concurrence, to swell that inundation, which began already to deluge every thing. “You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces,” said Charles in a discourse to the parliament; “a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust, which may have grown upon them. The engine,” continued he, “may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire; so as not a pin of it be wanting.” But this was far from the intention of the commons. The machine, they thought with some reason, was cumbered with many wheels and strings, which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility. Happy! had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented, in their present plenitude of power, to remove such parts only as might justly be deemed superfluous and incongruous.

In order to maintain that high authority which they had a quick, though narrow, sense of, they confounded and overruled their opposition, by obliging it to comply, and by dragging into their interests and adherents a party wholly hostile to them, and the nation's interests, to whose assistance and good offices they were always so much indebted.

No longer were the Scotch makers of the northern counties, than they had called them self-protection, which they had not the least intention of supporting, paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the distress of a numerous population and the quarters, the country consented to give them a subsidy of one shilling a day, in token of their submission. The intention, that this might remove the northern counties from the view and dependence of the king, to make Scotch, as well as to the English, and to the Scotch, would be achieved too slowly, for to a general execution, money was borrowed from the king.

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zens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum*, were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but into commissioners appointed by parliament: A practice, which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was very willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the commons, with regard to every branch of revenue which they granted the King. The invasion of the Scotch had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: The presence of their army reduced the King to that total subjection in which he was now held: The commons, for this reason, very openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders till all their enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected. *We cannot yet spare the Scotch*, said Strode plainly in the house; *the sons of Zerviah are still too strong for us*: An allusion to a passage of the scripture, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a-month was requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the kingdom had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And tho' several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were, from time to time, voted to answer the charge; the commons took care still to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

THE Scotch being such useful allies to the malecontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most unlimited complaisance and the most important services. The King, in his first speech, having called them *rebels*, observed, that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract that expression. The Scotch commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the Earl of Rothes and Lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; and yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houses. St. Antholine's church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propensity towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Those, who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: Those, who were excluded, clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmurs or broken

* It appears, that a subsidy was now fallen to 50,000 pounds.

broken phrases of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well reined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in such important interests, was not attended to with such infatigable avidity, as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and of ignorance.

The most effectual expedient for paying court to the *zealots* Search was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England; and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their most devoted partizans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The parliamentary party, whose progress, tho' secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to protest their dissent, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible, but decisive symptoms. Marshall and Burgets, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. It being the custom of the house always to take the sacrament before they entered upon business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the *spiritual lords* was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in name of the king, lords, and commons. The clerk of the upper house, in reading bills, turned his back on the bench of bishops; nor was insolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a solemn fast and humiliation, the whole orders of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church, took place of the spiritual; and the Lord Spencer remarked, that the humiliation, that day, seemed confined more to the prelates.

In every meeting of the commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high communion, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were all lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that their addresses were received without ceremony, and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as projected means to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Emboldened by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood was commonly applied to all clergymen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; tho' the episcopal clergy in England, during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address and petition was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of commons, and pretended to be signed by

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many hundreds of the puritanical persuasion. But what made most noise was the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition, to which 15,000 subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by Alderman Pennington, the city-member. 'Tis remarkable, that, among the many ecclesiastical abuses, there complained of, an allowance, given by the licencers of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgot by these rustic censors.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable disposition of the people, the leaders in the house resolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. As a consequence, the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers; a measure not unacceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who observed, with regret, the devoted attachment of that order to the will of the monarch. But when this bill was presented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority: The first check which the commons had received in their popular career, and a prognostic of what they might afterwards expect from the upper house, whose inclinations and interest could never be totally separated from the throne. But to show how little they were discouraged, the puritans immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; tho' they thought proper to let that bill sleep at present, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity for reviving it.

AMONG other acts of regal, executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for the demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and from his abhorrence to that superstitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or stone to lie over each other at right angles.

THE Bishop of Ely and other clergymen were attacked on account of innovations. Cozens, who had long been obnoxious, was exposed to new censures. This person, who was dean of Peterborough, was extremely zealous for ecclesiastical ceremonies: And so far from permitting the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers; a privilege on which the puritans very strenuously insisted; he would not so much as allow it to be cut with an ordinary household instrument. A consecrated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service.

COZENS likewise was accused of having said, *The King has no more authority in ecclesiastical matters, than the boy who rubs my horse's heels.* The expression was violent: But 'tis certain, that all those high churchmen, who were so industrious
in

in reducing the laity to submission, were extremely fond of their own privileges and independency, and were desirous of exempting the mitre from all subjection to the crown.

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A committee was erected by the commons as a court of enquiry upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *seventy-two divines*. The politicians among the commons were apprized of the great importance of the public enquiry; the people, the bigots, were enraged against the political clergy; and both of them knew, that no established government could be overturned by observing strictly the principles of justice, equity, or clemency. The proceedings, therefore, of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were, to the last degree, cruel and arbitrary, and made dreadful havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with branding, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy; and ended with beheading and exiling them. In order to join clemency to cruelty, they gave the traitors the epithet of *un-godly*, and endeavoured to render them as odious as they were miserable. The utmost vice, however, which they could reproach to a great part of them, were, bowing at the name of Jesus, placing the communion table in the east, reading the King's orders for sports on Sunday, and other practices, which the established government, both in church and state, had strictly enjoined them.

It may be worth observing, that all the historians, who lived near that age, or who perhaps is more decisive, all authors, who have casually made mention of those public transactions, still represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the political disputes about power and liberty as entirely subordinate to the other. 'Tis true, had the King been able to abstain from all invasion of national privileges, it is not probable, that the puritans ever could have acquired such authority as to overturn the whole constitution: Yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now taken, that, if the wound had not been poisoned by the invasion of theological hatred, it must have admitted of a very easy remedy. Dissolution of parliaments, imprisonment and persecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary and illegal administration, these were easily complained off: But the grievances, which related chiefly to the state of the parliament and nation, especially the latter, were, the supplies, the raising of money for the war, the boys exalted on approaching us, the hangings, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered copes, lawn-sleeves, the use of tobacco in marriage, and of the cross in baptism. Of necessity of these, were such parties contented to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and to the disgrace of that age and of this island, it must be acknowledged, that

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the disorders in Scotland intirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an organ*.

SOME persons, partial to the leaders, who now defended public liberty, have ventured to put them in ballance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity; and mention the names of Pym, Hambden, Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprize; in these particulars, perhaps the Roman do not much surpass the English patriots: But what a difference, when the discourse, conduct, conversation, and private as well as public behaviour, of both are inspected? Compare only one circumstance, and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble antients were totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy; in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society: The whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.

THE laws, as they stood at present, protected the church; but they exposed the catholics to the utmost rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so obnoxious to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution, which they had made, in order to assist the King in his war against the Scotch covenanters, was inquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the King for seizing two thirds of recusants' lands; a proportion to which, by law, he was intitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon very easy compositions. The severe and bloody laws against priests were insisted on: And one Goodman, a jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles however, agreeable to his usual principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expressed great resentment on that occasion. There remains a very singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the King and his people. He escaped with his life; but it seems more probable, that he was overlooked, amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity.

FOR

* Lord Clarendon says, that the parliamentary party were not agreed about the entire abolition of episcopacy: They were only the *root and branch men*, as they were called, who insisted on that measure. But those who were willing to retain bishops, insisted on reducing their authority to a low ebb; as well as on abolishing the ceremonies of worship and vestments of the clergy. The controversy, therefore, between the parties was almost wholly theological, and that of the most frivolous and ridiculous kind.

For some years, Con, a Scotchman, afterwards, Rosetti, an Italian, had openly resided at London, and frequented the court, as vested with a commission from the Pope. The Queen's zeal, and her authority with her husband, had been the cause of this imprudence, so offensive to the nation. But the spirit of bigotry now rose too high to permit any longer such indulgences.

HAYWARD, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a catholic madman, this enmity was ascribed to the popery, not to the frenzy of the assassin; and great alarms seized the nation and parliament. An universal conspiracy of the papists was supposed to have taken place: and every man, for some days, imagined, that he had a sword at his throat. Tho' some persons of family and distinction were still attached to the catholic superstition; 'tis certain, that the numbers of that sect did not compose the fortieth part of the nation: And the frequent panics, to which men, during this period, were so subject, on account of the catholics, were less the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and aversion, entertained against them.

THE Queen Mother of France, having been forced into banishment by some court-intrigues, had retired into England; and expected shelter, and left her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But, tho' she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The Earl of Holland, Lord lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered a hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding, that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their country-men, and were very unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the house of peers: For the King's authority was now intirely annihilated. He represented the indignity of the action, that to great a Princess, mother to the King of France, and to the Queens of Spain and England, should be affronted by the basest multitude. He observed the indelible reproach, which would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate Queen should suffer any violence from the misguided zeal of the people. He urged the sacred rights of hospitality, due to every one, much more to a person in distress, of so high a rank, with whom the nation was so nearly connected. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the Queen Mother; but at the same time desired, that she might be desired to depart the kingdom; * For the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his Majesty's well-affected subjects, occasioned by some misinformation about that Queen's person, by the flowing of priests and papists to her house, and by the violent

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“ practice of the idolatry of the mass and exercise of other superstitious services
“ of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion.”

CHARLES, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to overcome the intractable and encroaching spirit of the commons, by a perseverance in his own measures, by a stately dignity of behaviour, and by maintaining, at their utmost height, and even stretching beyond former precedent, the rights of his prerogative. Finding by experience how unsuccessful those measures had proved, and observing the low condition, to which he was now reduced, he resolved to alter his whole conduct, and to regain the confidence of his people, by pliancy, by concessions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. He considered not, that the true rule of government, in so difficult a situation, as that, in which, from the beginning of his reign, he was placed, consisted, neither in steadiness nor in facility, but in such a judicious mixture of both, as would exactly suit the present circumstances of the nation, and the particular pretensions of his opponents. And, it may safely be averred, that this new extreme, into which the King, for want of proper council or support, was fallen, became equally dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious to public peace, as the other, in which he had, so long and so unfortunately, persevered.

Tonnage and
poundage.

THE pretensions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain assurance of success, by the commons. The levying these duties, as formerly, without consent of parliament, and even increasing them at pleasure, was such an incongruity in a free constitution, where the people, by their fundamental privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured by these jealous patrons of liberty. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, where the commons granted these duties to the King, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the intire dependance and subjection of the King, they voted these duties only for two months; and afterwards, from time to time, renewed their grant for very short periods*. Charles, in order to show, that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill, without any scruple or hesitation.

WITH

* It was an instruction given by the house to the committee, which framed one of these bills, to take care, that the rates upon the home-commodities may be as light as possible; and upon foreign commodities as heavy as trade will bear: A proof, that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. Journ. 1 June 1641.

WITH regard to the bill for triennial parliaments, he made a little difficulty. CHAP. V.
 By an old statute, passed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, 1351.
 that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently, if necessary. 1351. c. 1.
 But as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution; this statute had been considered merely as a general declaration, and was dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots, who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority: In default of the peers, the sheriffs, mayors, bayliffs, &c. should summon the voters: And in their default, the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of sixty days. By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were intrenched; but at the same time, nothing could be more requisite than such a statute, for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble parliaments must be expected in the King; where these assemblies, as of late, establish it as a maxim to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. During long intermissions of parliament, grievances and abuses, agreeable to recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the King and council to exert a great discretionary authority, and, by acts of state, supply, in every emergency, the legislative power, whose meeting was so uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding, that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the constitution. Solemn thanks were presented him by both houses. Great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation. And mighty protestations were, every where, made of gratitude and mutual returns of loyalty and confidence. This concession of the King, it must be owned, was not entirely voluntary: It was of a nature too important to be voluntary. The sole interference, which his partizans were intitled to draw from the situation, so frailty made to perfect necessity, was, that he had certainly adopted a new plan of government, and, for the future, was resolved, by every expedient, to acquire the confidence and affections of his people.

CHARLES thought, that what concessions were made to the public were of little consequence, if no gratifications were bestowed on the individuals, who had acquired the direction of public councils and domestic affairs. A clause in

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ministers, as well as of measures, was, therefore, resolved on. In one day several new privy counsellors were sworn; the Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol; the Lords Say, Saville, Kimbolton: Within a few days after, was admitted the Earl of Warwick. All these Noblemen were of the popular party; and some of them afterwards, when matters were pushed to extremity by the commons, proved the greatest support of monarchy.

Juxon, bishop of London, who had never desired the treasurer's staff, now earnestly solicited for leave to resign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent diocese, which was committed to him. The king gave his assent; and it is remarkable, that, during all the severe inquiries, carried on against the conduct of ministers and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who bore both these invidious characters, remained unmolested. It was intended, that Bedford, a popular man, of great authority, as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed Juxon: But that Nobleman, very unfortunately both for King and people, died about this very time. By some promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created solicitor-general. Hollis was to be made secretary of state, in place of Windebank, who had fled: Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in place of Lord Cottington, who had resigned: Lord Say, master of the wards, in place of the same Nobleman: The Earl of Essex, governor; and Hambden, tutor to the Prince.

WHAT retarded the execution of these projected changes, was the difficulty of satisfying all those, who, from their activity and authority in parliament, had pretensions for offices, and who had it still in their power to embarrass and distress the public measures. Their associates too in popularity, whom the King intended to distinguish by his favours, were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having driven a separate bargain, and of sacrificing, to their own ambitious views, the cause of the nation. And as they were sensible, that they must owe their preferment entirely to their weight and consideration in parliament, they were, most of them, resolved still to adhere to that assembly, and both to promote its authority, and to preserve their own credit in it. On all occasions, they had no other advice to give the King, than to allow himself to be directed by his great council; or in other words, to resign himself passively to their guidance and government. And Charles found, that, instead of acquiring friends, by the honours and offices which he should bestow, he would only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him.

THE end, on which the King was most intent in changing ministers, was to save the life of the earl of Strafford, and to mollify, by these indulgences, the

rage of his most furious prosecutors. But so high was that Nobleman's reputation Chap. V.
for experience and capacity, that all the new counsellors and intended ministers plainly saw that if he eluded their vengeance, he must return into favour and authority; and they regarded his death as the only security, which they could have, both for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their farther enterprises. His impeachment, therefore, was pushed on with the utmost vigour, and after long and tedious preparations, was brought to a final issue.

Immediatly after Strafford was separated from parliament, and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen were chosen by the Lower house, and entrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. These joined to a small committee of Lords, were vested with authority to examine all witnesses, search every paper, and use any means of discovery, with regard to any part of the Earl's behaviour and conduct. After so general and unbounded an investigation, expected by such powerful and implacable enemies; a man must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his life, some matter of accusation against him.

This committee, by direction from both houses, took an oath of secrecy; a practice very unusual, and which gave them the appearance of confidential rather than ministers of justice. But the situation of this Strafford, was to render it more difficult for the Earl to elude their search, or prepare for his defence.

Application was made to the King, that he would allow this committee to examine privy counsellors with regard to opinions delivered at the banquet. A concession, which Charles unwarily made, and which therewithin banished that mutual confidence, from the deliberation of counsellors where every man is supposed to have entire freedom, without fear of the responsibility and reproach, of proposing any expedient, questioning any opinions, or supporting any argument.

Sir George Ratcliffe, the Earl's intimate friend and confidant, was accused of high treason, sent for from Ireland, and committed to the Tower in July. A new charge ever appeared or was prosecuted against him, was supposed to give more creditable interpretation to this measure, than that the committee, by pursuing to deprive Strafford, in his present distress, of the assistance of his best friend, was most enabled, by his testimony, to expose the dishonesty of his patron's conduct and behaviour.

When intelligence arrived in London, that notwithstanding Strafford's ruin, the Irish house of commons, tho' they had very much to say of his private faults on his administration, entered into all the former complaints against him, and prepared

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a representation of the miserable state, into which, by his misconduct, they supposed the kingdom to be fallen. They sent over a committee into England to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor; and by intimations from this committee, who entered into close confederacy with the popular leaders in England, was every measure of the Irish parliament governed and directed. Impeachments, which were never prosecuted, were carried up against Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor, Sir Gerard Louth, chief justice, and Bramhall, bishop of Derry. This step, which was an exact counter-part to the proceedings in England, served also the same purposes: It deprived the King of the ministers, whom he most trusted; it discouraged and terrified all the other ministers; and it prevented those persons, who were best acquainted with Strafford's councils, from giving evidence in his favour before the English parliament.

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THE bishops, being forbid by the antient canons to assist in any trial for life, and being unwilling, by any opposition, to irritate the commons, who were already much prejudiced against them, thought proper, of themselves, to withdraw. The commons also voted, that the new created peers ought to have no voice in this trial; because the accusation being agreed to, while they were commoners, their consent to it was implied with that of all the commons of England. Notwithstanding this decision, which was meant only to deprive Strafford of so many friends, the Lord Seymour, and some others, still continued to keep their seat; nor was their right to it any farther questioned.

To bestow a greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall; where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the King and Queen, who attended during the whole trial.

AN accusation, carried on by the united effort of three kingdoms, against one man, unprotected by power, unassisted by council, discountenanced by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal contest: Yet such was the capacity, genius, presence of mind, displayed by this magnanimous statesman, that, while argument and reason and law had any place, he obtained an undisputed victory. And he perished at last, overwhelmed and still unsubdued, by the undisguised violence of his fierce and unrelenting antagonists.

March 22.

THE articles of impeachment against Strafford are twenty eight in number; and regard his conduct, as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, as counsellor or commander in England. But tho' four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, and all Strafford's

ford's answers were extemporary; it appears from comparison, not only that he was free from the crime of treason, of which there is not the least appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, exposed to such a cruel scrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable.

His powers of the northern council, while he was president, had been extended, by the King's instructions, beyond what formerly had been practised. But that court being, at first, instituted by a stretch of royal prerogative, it had been usual for the prince to vary his instructions; and the largest authority, committed to it, was altogether as legal as the most moderate and moderate one. Nor was it reasonable to conclude, that Strafford had used any art to procure these extensive powers; since he never once sat as president, nor exercised one act of jurisdiction, after he was invested with the authority, to much complaint of.

In the government of Ireland, his administration had been equally primitive of his master's interest, and that of the subjects, committed to his care. A large debt he had payed off: He had left a considerable sum in the exchequer: The revenues, which before never answered the charges of government, were now raised to be equal to them: A small rascally army, formerly kept in no order, was augmented and was governed by the most exact discipline: And a great force was there raised and paid, for the support of the King's authority against the Scotch covenanters.

Industry, and all the arts of peace, were introduced among that savage people: The shipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred-fold: The customs tripled upon the same rates: The exports double in value to the imports: Manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted: Agriculture, by means of the English and Scotch plantations, gradually advanced: The protestant religion encouraged, without the persecution or discontent of the catholics.

The limits of authority he had enforced without overstraining them. Discretionary acts of jurisdiction, indeed, he had often exerted, by holding courts-martial, settling soldiers, deciding causes upon paper-petitions before the council, issuing proclamations, and punishing their infraction. But discretionary authority, during that age, was usually exercised even in England. In Ireland, it was still more requisite, among a wild people, not yet thoroughly subjugated to the religion and manners of their conquerors, ready, on all occasions, to rush into rebellion and disorder. While the managers of the *cromwellian* war, every moment, that the deputy's conduct should be examined by the law of equity, law and equity principles; he appealed still to the practice of all former deputies, and to the uncontrollable necessity of his situation.

So great was his art of managing elections, and managing parties, that he had engaged the Irish parliament to vote whatever was necessary, both for the

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payment of former debts, and for support of the new levied army; nor had he ever been reduced to the illegal expedients, practised in England, for the supply of public necessities. No imputation of rapacity could justly lie against his administration. Some instances of imperious expressions and even actions may be met with. The case of Lord Mountnorris, of all those collected with so much industry, is the most flagrant and the least excusable.

It had been reported at the table of the Lord chancellor Loftus, that one of the deputy's attendants, a relation of Mountnorris, in moving a stool, had forcibly hurt his master's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. *Perhaps*, said Mountnorris, who was present at table, *it was done in revenge of that public affront, which my Lord deputy formerly put upon me*: BUT I HAVE A BROTHER, WHO WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN SUCH A REVENGE. This casual, and seemingly innocent, at least very ambiguous, expression was reported to Strafford; who, on pretence that Mountnorris was an officer, ordered him to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and sedition against his general. The court, which consisted of the chief officers of the army, found the crime to be capital, and condemned that Nobleman to lose his head.

In vain did Strafford plead in his own defence against this article of impeachment, That the sentence against Mountnorris was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court, not the act of the deputy; that he spoke not to a member of the court, nor voted in the cause, but sat uncovered as a party; and then immediately withdrew, to leave them to their freedom; that sensible of the iniquity of the sentence, he procured his Majesty's free pardon to Mountnorris; that he did not even keep that Nobleman a moment in suspense with regard to his fate, but instantly told him, that he himself would sooner lose his right hand than execute such a sentence, nor was his lordship's life in any manner of danger; and that upon the whole, the only hardship, which Mountnorris suffered, was imprisonment during two days, after which his liberty was restored him. In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology, that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who paid court, by the lowest adulation, to all deputies, while present; and blackened their character, by the vilest calumnies, when recalled: And that Strafford, expecting like treatment, had used this expedient for no other purpose than to subdue the petulant spirit of the man. These excuses alleviate the guilt; but there still remains enough to prove, that the mind of the deputy, tho' great and firm, had been not a little debauched by the riot of absolute power, and uncontrouled authority.

When Strafford was called over into England, he found every thing falling into such confusion, by the open rebellion of the Scotch, and the secret discontents of the English, that, if he had counselled or executed any violent measure, he might

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“ and try us by maxims unheard of, till the very moment of the prosecution.
“ If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no
“ buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: But, if the anchor
“ be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the
“ mark set upon this crime? Where is the token by which I should dis- over
“ it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human
“ innocence could save me from the destruction, with which I am at present
“ threatened.

“ It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were obtained;
“ and so long has it been, since any man was touched to this extent, upon
“ this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourselves at
“ home; we have lived gloriously abroad, to the world: Let us be content with
“ what our fathers have left us: Let not our ambition carry us to be more
“ learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom
“ it will be in your lordships, and just providence, for yourselves, for your pos-
“ terities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody
“ and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, as the primitive
“ christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain
“ letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you
“ the path, by which you may avoid it!

“ Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling
“ up a company of old records, which have lain, for so many ages, by the wall,
“ forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions, add not this, my lords, the
“ most severe of any; that I, for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the
“ means of introducing a precedent, so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my
“ native country.

“ HOWEVER these gentlemen at the bar say, they speak for the common-
“ wealth; and they believe so: Yet, under favour, it is I who in this particular,
“ speak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like those endeavoured to be esta-
“ blished against me, must draw along such inconveniences and miseries, that,
“ in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition, expressed in a statute
“ of Henry IV; and no man shall know by that rule to govern his words and
“ actions.

“ IMPOSE not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state,
“ nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If
“ you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every
“ little weight; the scrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the
“ kingdom must be left naked: and no wise man, who has any honour or for-
“ tune

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bill of a remainder was therefore brought into the lower house immediately after finishing these pleadings; and preparatory to it, a new proof of the Earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove such scruples as might be entertained with regard to a method of proceeding, so unusual and irregular.

Sir Henry Vane, secretary, had taken down some notes of a debate in council, after the dissolution of the last parliament; and being at a distance, he had sent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his son, Sir Henry, in order to search for some papers, which were necessary for completing a marriage-settlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmost consequence; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the house of commons. The question before the council was; *Offensive or defensive war with the Scotch*. The King proposes this difficulty, "But how can I undertake offensive war if I have no more money?" The answer ascribed to Strafford was in these words. "Borrow of the city a hundred thousand pounds: Go on vigorously to levy ship money. Your Majesty having tried the affections of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your Majesty, having tried all ways, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; For I am confident the Scotch cannot hold out five months." There followed some councils of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the King's being absolved from all rules of government.

This paper, with all the circumstances of its discovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witnesses, and to be an unanswerable proof of those pernicious councils of Strafford, which tended to the subversion of the laws and constitution. But it was replied by Strafford and his friends, That old Vane was his most inveterate and declared enemy; and if the secretary himself, as was by far most probable, had willingly delivered to his son this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied such a breach of oaths and of trust as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit. That the secretary's disposition was at first exceedingly dubious: Upon two examinations, he could not remember any such words: Even the third time, his testimony was not positive, but imported only, that Strafford had spoke such or such-like words: And words may be very like in sound, and differ much in sense; nor ought the lives of men to depend upon grammatical criticisms of any expressions, much less, of those delivered by the speaker without premeditation, and committed by the hearer, for any time, however short, to the uncertain record of memory. That, in the present case, changing *This kingdom* into *That kingdom*, a very slight alteration! the Earl's discourse

CH. V. bill of attainder, were passed up under the title of *Straffordians and traitors of their country*. These were exposed to all the insults of the ungovernable multitude. When any of the bills passed, the loud cry of *Justice* against Strafford rebounded in their ears: And such as were suspected of friendship to that obnoxious minister, were sure to meet with menaces, not unaccompanied with symptoms of the most desperate resolutions in the furious populace.

COMPLAINTS in the house of commons being made against these violences as the most flagrant breach of privilege, the ruling members, by their affected solemnity and indifference, showed plainly, that the popular tumults were not disagreeable to them. But a new discovery, made about this time, served to draw every thing into still greater flame and combustion.

SOME principal officers, Piercy, Jermyn, Oneale, Goring, Wilmot, Follard, Ashburnham, partly attached to the court, partly disgusted with the parliament, had formed a plan of engaging into the King's service the English army, whom they observed to be displeased at some marks of preference given by the commons to the Scotch. For this purpose, they entered into an association, took an oath of secrecy, and kept a close correspondence with some of the King's servants. The form of a petition to the King and parliament was concerted; and it was proposed to get this petition subscribed by the army. The petitioners there represent the great and unexampled concessions made by the King for the security of public peace and liberty; the endless demands of certain insatiable and turbulent spirits, whom nothing less will content than a total subversion of the antient constitution; the frequent tumults, which these factious malecontents had excited, and which endangered the liberty of parliament. To prevent these mischiefs, the army offered to come up and guard that assembly. "So shall the nation," as they express themselves in the conclusion, "not only be vindicated from precedent innovations, but be secured from the future, which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the King, he was prevailed on, somewhat imprudently, to counter-sign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. But as several difficulties occurred, the project was laid aside two months before any public discovery was made of it.

It was Goring, who betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be imagined, which this intelligence conveyed. Petitions from the military to the civil power are always looked on as disguised, or rather undisguised commands; and are of a nature widely different from petitions, presented by any other rank of men. Pym opened the matter in the house. On the first intimation

intimation of a conspiracy, Percy presented himself at a private conference beyond the Tower. The latter conference was supposed to be a dangerous conspiracy. Going only to the cellars below the house. There were a party of the French, Northmen, and others, all of the particulars. But their testimonies agree with regard to the fact of secrecy; and as this circumstance had been denied by Potters, Southampton, and Wilton, in all their examinations, it was regarded as a new proof of some corporate revolution, which had been taken.

To convey more quickly the terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a protestation should be signed by all the members. It was taken up to the commons, and signed by all of them, except Southampton and Roberts. Orders were given by the commons alone, without other authority, that it should be subscribed by the whole nation. The protestation was in itself very inoffensive and even insignificant, and contained nothing but general declarations, that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties. But it tended to increase the popular panic, and intimated, what was more expressly declared in the preamble, that these blessings were now exposed to the utmost peril.

Every day were given of new conspiracies: In Lancashire, prebendaries and papists were gathering together: Secret meetings were held by them in caves and underground in Surrey: They had entered into a plot to blow up the tower with gunpowder, in order to drown the city: Provisions of arms were making beyond sea: Sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom: And the populace, who are always terrified with present, and enraged with distant dangers, were still farther animated in their demands of justice against the unfortunate Strafford.

The King came to the house of commons: And tho' he expressed his reluctance, which he offered them many security, never chose to employ Strafford in any manner of public business; he protested himself totally dissatisfied with regard to the circumstances of treason, and on that account declared his difficulty in giving his assent to the bill of attainder. The commons took fire, and voted it a breach of privilege for the King to take notice of any bill, depending before the house. Charles did not perceive, that his attachment to Strafford was the chief motive of the bill; and that the greater proofs he gave of another consideration, was not to the more convince and render his declaration.

As the commons had constantly attended Strafford's trial, but such appearance was entertained on account of the popular clamour, that only five

1649. five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house. Yet of these, nineteen had the courage to vote against it: A certain proof, that, if intire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority.

In carrying up the bill to the lords, St. John, the solicitor-general, advanced two topics, well suited to the fury of the times; that, tho' the testimony against Strafford were not clear, yet, in this way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, even should no evidence at all be produced; and that the Earl had no title to plead law, because he had broke the law. It is true, added he, we give law to hares and deer; for they are beasts of chace: But it was never accounted either cruel or unfair, to destroy foxes or wolves, wherever they can be found; for they are beasts of prey.

AFTER popular violence had prevailed over the lords, the same batteries were next applied to force the King's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamours and most open menaces. Rumors of conspiracies against the parliament were anew spread abroad: Invasions and insurrections talked of: And the whole nation was raised into such a ferment, as threatened some great and imminent convulsion. On whichever side the King cast his eyes, he saw no resource nor security. All his servants, consulting their own safety, rather than their master's honour, declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. The Queen, terrified with the appearance of so mighty a danger, and bearing formerly no goodwill to Strafford, was in tears, and pressed him to satisfy his people, in this demand, which, it was hoped, would finally content them. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if, in his conscience, he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it.

CHARLES, hearing of the King's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step: He wrote a letter, in which he intreated the King for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them that request, for which they were so importunate. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do beside. To a willing man there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a cheerful and mockest, obstinate consentment to my dissolving soul: so, Sir, to you, I can pardon the sins of that world with all imaginable cheerfulness. In this I acknowledge myself your exceeding debtor." Perhaps, he thought himself, that this unusual address, so generously worded, might give the King still more liberty to execute his sentence: To which, he gave his life for bail; and finding himself in the

hails of his enemies, and observing, that Bicker, the lieutenant of the tower, was entirely devoted to the popular party; he absolutely despair'd of ever escaping the multiplied dangers, with which he was every where environ'd. We must ascribe this step to a noble effort of disinterestedness, not unworthy the great mind of Strafford; if the measure, which he advis'd, had not been, in the event, as pernicious to his master, as it was immediately fatal to himself *.

As soon the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles, at last, granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. Flattering himself, probably, in this extremity of distress, that, as neither his will consented to the deed, nor was his hand immediately engag'd in it, he was the more free from all the guilt, which attend'd it. These commissioners he employ'd, at the same time, to give assent to the bill, which rendered the parliament perpetual.

The commons, from policy, more than from necessity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and this loan they had repaid afterwards by taxes, levied upon the people. The citizens, either of themselves or by suggestion, began to state difficulties with regard to a farther loan, which was demanded. We make no scruple of trusting the parliament, had they, were we certain, that the parliament was to continue till our enjoyment: But, in the present precarious situation of affairs, what security can we give us for our money? In order to obviate this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the house, and pass'd with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, nor adjourn'd, without their consent. It was hurried in like manner thro' the house of peers; and was instantly carried to the King for his assent. Charles, in the agony of grief, shame, and remorse, for Strafford's doom, perceiv'd not, that this other bill, which had more fatal consequence to his authority; and rendered the power of his

* It is not, as Mr. Hall says, the Duke of Ormonde, who gave us some account of this matter, that this bill was drawn up, but that it was the popular leader, a member of the House of Commons, who drew it up. He says, that Strafford had a knowledge of the nature of this bill, and that there was some correspondence between the two Houses, in relation to it. The language of the *Commons* seems to imply, that they were not aware of the consequences of this bill, and that it was a measure taken upon a sudden emergency. They declare, at a distance, that Strafford's situation, had render'd such a bill necessary, and that they, who drew up the bill, intended the bill to be a measure, that should not be taken without the consent of the Commons, and without the assent of the House of Peers. The bill, as it is worded, has the same effect, as if it had been drawn up by the Commons, and passed by the House of Peers, and then carried to the King for his assent. The bill, as it is worded, has the same effect, as if it had been drawn up by the Commons, and passed by the House of Peers, and then carried to the King for his assent.

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enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable. In comparison of the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in his friend's murder, this concession made no figure in his eyes*: A circumstance, which, if it lessens our idea of his resolution or penetration, serves to prove the integrity of his heart and the goodness of his disposition. It is indeed certain, that strong compunction for his consent to Strafford's execution attended this unfortunate Prince during all the remainder of his life; and even at his own fatal end, the memory of this guilt, with great sorrow and remorse, recurred upon him. All men were so sensible of the extreme violence, which was done him, that he suffered the less, both in character and interest, from this unhappy measure; and, tho' he abandoned his best friend, yet was he still able to preserve, in some degree, the attachment of all his adherents.

SECRETARY Carleton was sent by the King to inform Strafford of the final resolution, which necessity had extorted from him. The Earl seemed surpris'd, and starting up, exclaimed in the words of the scripture, *Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men: For in them there is no salvation.* He was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared for suffering the fatal sentence. Only three days interval was allowed him. The King, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young Prince, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was refused in both requests.

Execution of
Strafford.

STRAFFORD, in passing from his apartment to Towerhill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship; and entreated the assistance of his prayers, in those awful moments, which were approaching: The aged primate dissolved in tears; and having pronounced, with a broken voice, a tender blessing on his departing friend, sunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, still superior to his fate, marched on with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater dignity, than what usually attended him. He wanted that consolation, which commonly supports those, who perish by the stroke of injustice and oppression.

His

* What made this bill appear of less consequence was, that the parliament voted to continue and prorogue for no longer a period than two months: And as that branch was not the basis of the revenue, and the government could not possibly subsist without it; it seemed indirectly in the power of the parliament to continue themselves as long as they pleased. This indeed was true in the ordinary administration of government: But on the approaches towards a civil war, which was not then foreseen, it had been of great consequence to the King to have reserved the right of dissolution, and to have suffered any other extremity, rather than allow the continuance of the parliament.

He was not buoyed up by glory, nor by the affectionate compassion of the people: it is so: Yet his mind, erect and undaunted, found resources within itself, and maintained its unbroken resolution, amidst the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his misguided countrymen. His conduct on the scaffold was full of decency and courage. "He said," he said, "that the omen was bad for the intended reformation of the state, that it commenced with the shedding of innocent blood." Having bid a last adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and having sent a blessing to his nearer relations, who were absent; "And now," said he, "I have only done! One stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends! But let God be to you and them all in all!" Going to the robe and prepare himself for the block, "I thank God," said he, "that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" With one blow was a period put to his life by the executioner.

Tires perished, in the sixth year of his age, the famous Earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages, who has appeared in England. Tho' his death was loudly demanded as a satisfaction to justice, and an atonement for the many violations of the constitution; it may safely be affirmed, that the sentence, by which he fell, was an enmity greater than the worst of those, which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry. The people in their rage, had totally mistaken the proper object of their resentment. A false necessity, or, more properly speaking, the difficulties, by which the King had been induced to use violent expedients for raising money, were the source of measures, precedent to Strafford's favour; and if they were true, at least, at least, was intirely innocent. Even those violent expedients, which occasioned the complaint, that the constitution was violated, had been, in all of them, conducted, so far as appeared, without the least intention of injury. And whenever his private advice might be, this liberal prince was ready to say, often and publicly, to inculcate in the King's presence, that, if the necessity ever obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, the law must be practised with extreme reserve, and, as soon as possible, a full atonement be made to the constitution, for any injury, which it might sustain from such transgressions, precedents. The first parliament after the rebellion reversed the attainder of Strafford; and even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, the very

[The sentence was strictly so open to arbitrary council, that many persons were put to death, particularly within prison, where we seem to walk in the morning past some of the

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parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence : As if conscious of the violence, with which the prosecution had been conducted.

IN vain did Charles expect, as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the parliament would at last show him some indulgence, and would cordially fall into that unanimity, to which, at the expence of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly courted them. All his concessions were poisoned by their suspicion of his insincerity ; and the supposed attempt to engage the army against them, served with many as a confirmation of this jealousy. It was natural for the King to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him ; and this probably was the utmost of that embryo-scheme, which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted, that a desperate plot was laid to bring up the forces immediately, and offer violence to the parliament : A design of which Piercy's evidence acquits the King, and which the near neighbourhood of the Scotch army seems to render absolutely impracticable *. By means, however, of these suspicions, was the same implacable spirit still kept alive ; and the commons, without giving the King any satisfaction in the settlement of his revenue, proceeded to carry their inroads, with great vigour, into his now defenceless prerogative.

High-com-
mission and
star-chamber
abolished.

THE two ruling passions of this parliament, were zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church of England ; and to both of these, nothing could appear more exceptionable, than the court of high-commission, whose institution rendered it intirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court, which exerted very high discretionary powers ; and had no precise rule or limit, either with regard to the causes, which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions, which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the houses, to abolish these two courts ; and in them, to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the King's prerogative. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles hesitated before he gave his assent. But finding, that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed no resource in case of a rupture, he at last affixed the royal sanction to these excellent bills. But to show the parliament, that he was sufficiently apprised of the importance of his grant, he observed

* The project of bringing up the army to London, according to Piercy, was proposed to the King ; but he rejected it as foolish : Because the Scotch, who were in arms, and lying in their neighbourhood, must be at London as soon as the English army. This reason is so solid and convincing, that it leaves no room to doubt of the veracity of Piercy's evidence ; and consequently acquits the King of this terrible plot of bringing up the army, which made such a noise at that time, and was a pretence for so many violences.

served to them, that their new statutes, which, in a great measure, the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established.

By removing the star-chamber, the King's power of binding the people by his proclamations, was indirectly abolished; and that important branch of prerogative, the strong symbol of arbitrary power, and incompatible in a limited constitution, being at last removed, left the system of government more consistent and uniform. The star-chamber alone was accustomed to punish infractions of the king's edicts: But as no courts of judicature now remained, except those in Westminster-hall, which take cognizance only of common and statute law, the king may thenceforth issue proclamations, but no man is bound to obey them. It must, however, be confessed, that the experiment here made by the parliament, was not a little rash and adventurous. No government, at that time, appeared in the world, nor is perhaps to be found in the records of any history, which subsisted without the mixture of some arbitrary authority, committed to some magistrate; and it might reasonably, beforehand, appear doubtful, whether human society could ever arrive at that state of perfection, as to support itself with no other controul, than the general and rigid maxims of law and equity. But the parliament justly thought, that the king was too eminent a magistrate to be trusted with discretionary power, which he might too easily turn to the destruction of liberty. And in the event it has been found, that, tho' some inconveniences arise from the maxim of adhering strictly to law, yet the advantages so much over-balance them, as should render the length for ever grateful to the memory of their ancestors, who, after repeated contests, at last established that noble principle.

At the request of the parliament, Charles, instead of the patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour. A circumstance of the greatest moment towards securing their independency, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

The inferior court, which was composed of officers of words, and was not thought sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The summary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the natives, being liable to a new objection, underwent a new trial. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales, followed from the same principle. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general supervision over the weights, and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates.

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IN short, if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable parliament, during the first period of their operations; we shall find, that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits, in other respects, so much overbalance their mistakes, as to intitle them to very ample praises from all lovers of liberty. Not only former complaints were remedied and grievances redressed: Great provision, for the future, was made by excellent laws against the return of like complaints. And if the means, by which they obtained such mighty advantages, favour often of artifice, sometimes of violence, it is to be considered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning: And that factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitancies.

THE parliament now came to a pause. The King had promised his Scotch subjects, that he would this summer pay them a visit in order to settle their government; and tho' the English parliament was very importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As he must necessarily in his journey have passed thro' the troops of both nations, the commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scotch, were intirely paid them; and those of the English, in part. The Scotch returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties, and dismissed.

8th of Aug.
King's journey to Scotland.

9th of Sept.

AFTER this, the parliament adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houses, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers. Pym was appointed chairman of the committee of the lower house. Farther attempts were made by the parliament, while it sat, and even by the commons alone, for assuming sovereign executive powers, and publishing their ordinances, as they called them, instead of laws. The committee too, on their parts, were ready to imitate this example.

A small committee of both houses were appointed to attend the King into Scotland, in order, as it was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon him, and extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the King. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armyne, Miennes, and Hambden, were the persons chosen.

ENDEAVOURS were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the

C H A P. VI.

*Settlement of Scotland.—C. Fray in Ireland.—The
neglect.—Meeting of the English parliament.—The
—Reigns on both sides.—Impeachment of the bishop.—Depo-
sition of the five members.—Tennants.—King leaves London.—
Arrives in York.—Preparations for civil war.*

Char. VI.
1671.
August 14.
Settlement of Scotland.

CHARLES, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and dreading still farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, with an intention of abdicating almost entirely the small share of power, which *there* remained to him, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects in that kingdom.

THE lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scotch parliament. They were constituted after this manner. The lords chose eight bishops : The bishops elected eight lords : These sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burgeses : And without the previous consent of the thirty two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in the parliament. As the bishops were intirely devoted to the court, it is evident, that all the lords of articles, by necessary consequence, depended on the king's nomination ; and the prince, besides one negative after passing the bills thro' the parliament, possessed indirectly another before their introduction ; a prerogative of much greater consequence than the former. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the parliament wisely laid hold of the opportunity, and totally set aside the lords of articles : And till this important point was obtained, the nation, properly speaking, could not be said to enjoy any regular freedom.

It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this institution, which had no parallel in England, the royal authority was always esteemed much lower in Scotland than in the former kingdom. Bacon represents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extensive prerogative of England would be abridged by the example of Scotland, and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland be enlarged from imitation of England. The English were, at that time, a civilized people, and obedient to the laws : But among the Scotch, it was of little consequence, how the laws were framed, or by whom voted ; while the exorbitant aristocracy had it so much in their power to prevent their regular execution.

THE peers and commons formed only one house in the Scotch parliament : And as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scotch titles ; the whole determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners, who had no interest nor concern in the nation. It was therefore a law, deserving great approbation, that no man should be capable of being created a Scotch peer, who possessed not 10,000 merks (above 500 pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom.

A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing.

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THE King was deprived of that power, formerly exercised, of issuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience, under the penalty of treason: A prerogative, which invested him with the whole legislative authority, even in matters of the highest consequence.

So far was laudable: But the most fatal blow given to royal authority, and what, in a manner, dethroned the Prince, was the article, that no member of the privy council, in whose hands, during the King's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive, of their seats, four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were also sworn of the privy council. And all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour.

THE King, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted at the long prayers and longer sermons, with which the presbyterians endeavoured to regale him. He bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers; and practised every art to seduce, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The Earl of Argyle was created a marquis, Lord Loudoun an earl, Lesley was dignified with the title of Duke of Lennox. His friends, he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook: some of them were disgusted: And his enemies were not reconciled; but beheld all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity.

Argyle and Hamilton, being seized with an apoplexy, and for some of the most violent of Crayford and others intended to assassinate them, but the plot was discovered, and retired into the country: But upon invitation and assurance, returned in a few days. This event, which had neither cause nor effect, nor purpose, nor consequence, was commonly denominated the *Plot of the Five*; what had no effect in Scotland, what was not expected in England, and which was a consequence in England. The English parliament, who were not so much inclined to awaken the people's tenderness against the Scots, as the Scots themselves, who already took the alarm; and the multiplicity, for the execution of the plot, which was a plot at once to murder the king and all the great officers of state, had not time to prepare, therefore, to afford, when the king had not given notice of his departure; and he ordered a guard to attend them.

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BUT while the King was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom ; he received news of a dangerous rebellion broke out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. On every side, this unfortunate Prince was pursued with murmurs, discontent, faction, and civil wars ; and the fire, from all quarters, even by the most independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

THE great plan of James, in the administration of Ireland, continued by Charles, was, by justice and peace, to reconcile that turbulent people to the authority of laws, and, introducing art and industry among them, to cure that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been subject. In order to serve both these purposes, and, at the same time, secure the dominion of Ireland to the English crown, great colonies of British had been carried over, and, being intermixed with the Irish, had every where introduced a new face of things into that country. During a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the nations seemed, in a great measure, to be obliterated ; and tho' much of the landed property, forfeited by rebellion, had been conferred on the new planters, a more than equal return had been made, by their instructing the natives in tillage, building, manufactures, and all the civilized arts of life. This had been the course of things during the successive administrations of Chichester, Grandison, Falkland, and, above all, of Strafford. Under the government of this last nobleman, the pacific plans, now come to greater maturity, and forwarded by his vigour and industry, seemed to have operated with full success, and to have bestowed, at last, on that savage country, the face of an European settlement.

AFTER Strafford fell a victim to popular rage, the humours, excited in Ireland by that great event, could not suddenly be composed, but continued to produce the greatest innovations in the government.

THE British protestants transplanted into Ireland, having, every moment, before their eyes all the horrors of popery, had naturally been carried into the opposite extreme, and had universally adopted the highest principles and practices of the puritans. Monarchy, as well as the hierarchy, was become odious to them ; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themselves from the king of England, was greedily adopted and pursued. They considered not, that, as they scarce composed the sixth part of the people, and were secretly obnoxious to the ancient inhabitants ; their only method of supporting themselves was by maintaining royal authority, and preserving a great dependance on their mother-country. The English commons likewise, in their furious prosecution of Strafford, had overlooked the most obvious consequences ;
and,

and, while they imputed to him, as a crime, every disaffection, C. 2. VI.
1. 46. they despoiled all succeeding governors of that power, by which alone the Irish could be retained in subjection. And so strong was the current for popular government in all the three kingdoms, that the most established maxims of policy were every where abandoned, in order to gratify this ruling passion.

CHURCH, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to the Irish, as to the Scotch and English parliaments; and found too, that their enactments had no role in proportion to his concessions. Those subsidies, which the Irish had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: The court of high commission was determined to be a grievance: Martial law abolished: The jurisdiction of the council annihilated: Proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority: Every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the Prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in his administration.

The standing army of Ireland was usually about 3000 men; but in order to assist the King, in suppressing the Scotch covenanters, Strafford had raised 8000 more, and had incorporated with them a thousand men, drawn from the old army; a necessary expedient for bestowing order and discipline on the new raised soldiers. The private men in this army were wholly catholic; but the officers, both commission and non-commission, were protestants, and could entirely be depended on by Charles. The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army; and never ceased soliciting the King, till he agreed to break it: Nor would they consent to any proposals for augmenting the standing army to 4000 men; a number which the King judged requisite for retaining Ireland in obedience.

CHURCH, thinking it dangerous, that 8000 men, accustomed to Ireland, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a nation so turbulent and unsettled, agreed with the Spanish ambassador to have them transported into Flanders, and hired in his master's service. The English commons, apprehensive, that regular bodies of troops, disciplined in the Low Countries, would prove still more dangerous, showed some aversion to this expedient, and the King reduced his allowance to 4000 men. But when the Spaniards had hired ships for transporting these troops, and the men were ready for embarkation, the commons, willing to show their power, and not dissatisfied with an opportunity of doing so, and affronting the King, prohibited every one from furnishing vessels for that service. And thus the project, formed by Charles, of taming the country from 8000 men, was unfortunately disappointed.

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THE old Irish catholics remarked all these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. Tho' their animosity against that nation, for want of an occasion to exert itself, seemed to be extinguished, it was only composed into a temporary and deceitful tranquillity. Their interests, both with regard to *property* and to *religion*, secretly stimulated them to a revolt. No individual of any sept, according to the antient customs, had the property of any particular estate; but as the whole sept had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly preferred this barbarous community before the more secure and narrower possessions assigned them by the English. An indulgence, amounting almost to a toleration, had been given the catholic religion: But so long as the churches and the ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were obliged to endure the neighbourhood of profane heretics; being themselves discontented, they endeavoured continually to retard any cordial reconciliation between the English and the Irish nations.

Conspiracy
in Ireland.

THERE was a gentleman, called Roger More, who, tho' of a narrow fortune, was descended from a very antient Irish family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He secretly went from cheftain to cheftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim Oneale, the most powerful of the old Irish. By conversation, by letters, by his emissaries, he represented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt. He observed to them, That, by the rebellion of the Scotch and factions of the English, the King's authority in Britain was reduced to so low a condition, that he never could exert himself with any vigour, in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland; that the catholics, in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative and the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting, to its desired effect, any conspiracy or combination, which could be formed; that the Scotch, having so successfully thrown off dependance on the crown of England, and assumed the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had so much greater oppressions to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful in comparison of the natives; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a great body of men, disciplined by the government,

vernment, were now thrown loose, and were ready for any daring or desperate enterprise; that tho' the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in some tolerable measure, the exercise of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they must henceforth expect, that the government would be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament, having at last subdued their sovereign, would, no doubt, to begin with, consolidate their authority, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution, to which their brethren in England were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish, tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion; much less, during the present confusion, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid not to him, but to those, who had traitorously usurped his lawful authority.

By these considerations, More engaged all the heads of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The English of the pale, as they were called, or the old English planters, being all catholics, it was hoped, would afterwards join the party, which restored their religion to its ancient splendour and authority. The intention was, that, by Sir Phelim O'neale and the other conspirators, an insurrection should be begun on one day, throughout the provinces, and all the English settlements be attacked; and that, on the very same day, Lord Maguire and Roger More should surprize the castle of Dublin. The commencement of this revolt they fixed on the approach of winter; that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Succour to themselves and supplies of arms they expected from France, in consequence of a promise made them by Cardinal Richelieu. And many Irish officers, who served in the Spanish troops, had given assurances of their concurrence, so soon as they saw an insurrection entered upon by their catholic brethren. News, which, every day, arrived from England, of the fury, excited by the courtiers against all people, that knew or were near the Irish nation, and both stimulated the conspirators to execute their fatal projects, and gave them a full hope of the success of their design.

Some persons, flying to a revolt was discovered by the Irish, that it was denied them. They were, however, so cautious, to conceal the fact to most heads, and the spy, that they directed, nor had any other way been contrived to the execution of the King's peace, had resolved to raise an insurrection, and to do so, that nothing was in agitation among the Irish, as to the party, but not in regard to the character of the rebellion, the persons, and the principles. The persons, like what were found in the same spirit, were, however, to be paid at the crown was paid to them. The Irish of the pale, which the King had appointed

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pointed lieutenant, remained in London. The two justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, were men of small ability, and, by an inconvenience common to all factious times, owed their advancement to nothing but their zeal for that party, by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most profound repose, on the very brink of destruction.

BUT they were awakened from their security, the very day before that appointed for the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for 10,000 men, with thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportional quantity of ammunition: Yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no greater force than fifty men. Maguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of their retainers: Others were expected that night: And, next morning, they were to enter upon, what they esteemed the easiest of all enterprizes, the surprizal of the castle. Oconolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, betrayed the secret to Parsons. The justices and council, for safety, fled immediately into the castle, and re-inforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the protestants prepared for defence. More escaped: Maguire was taken; and Mahone, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered, to the justices, the project of a general insurrection, and redoubled the apprehensions, which were already universally diffused throughout Dublin.

Irish insurrection and massacre.

BUT tho' Oconolly's discovery saved the castle from a surprize, the confession, extorted from Mahone, came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O-neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English were first seized. Those, who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and flocking together for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property; and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous, that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did

flight save from the first assault: Destruction was, every where, let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: All connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were murdered by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

But death was the lightest punishment, inflicted by those more than barbarous savages: All the tortures, which wanton cruelty could devise, and the lingering pains of body, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, tho' attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, tho' encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity, inherent in human breasts, be destroyed by that contagion of example, which transports men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour.

The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions, in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation, of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases or defenceless children of the English. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle, which they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, yet, because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or, covered with wound, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

The stately buildings, or commodious habitations of the planters, with up-bulking the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were crowded with fire, or laid level with the ground. And where the natives were not that way in their houses, and preparing for death, perished in the flames together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to these insatiable murderers.

In any where a number assembled together, and observing that the English, were resolved to fight, they began to kill, and on the first onset they were slain by capital blows, and probably of such a nature as rendered them almost insensible. But so to her had they taken care, that the women were never exposed to cruelty, nor to their husbands, that they might be kept in a state of slavery.

Others, more ingenious in their malice, and more cruel in their designs, began to dig up the bones of their dead, and to send them to the same place, from whence

Chap. VI. having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which
1641. they sought to shun by deserving it.

AMIDST all these enormities, the sacred name of RELIGION resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these savages, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety, was represented as the most meritorious. Nature, which, in that rude people, was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther stimulated by precepts; and national prejudices empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments, infinite and eternal.

SUCH were the barbarities, by which Sir Phelim Oneale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion: An event, memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The generous nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to Oneale's camp; but found, that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after, he abandoned a cause, polluted with so many crimes; and retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps too, by the unrestrained brutality of his nature; tho' without any courage or capacity, acquired the intire ascendant over the northern rebels. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: The Scotch, at first, met with more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to a passive neutrality, the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations; and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scotch, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country: Others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence: And by this means, the Scotch planters, most of them at least, escaped with their lives.

FROM Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves, in an instant, over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places, death and slaughter were not uncommon; tho' the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not contented with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with waiving their cultivated fields: They stripped them of their

very cloaths, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if compassing round that unhappy people, were array'd with cold and tempests, and hail to the carnage, and executed what the merciless sword of the barbarians had left unfinished. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, halting towards Dublin and the other cities, which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the cruel and rigorous of cold and hunger. Here, the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate, which he himself expected to soon to share. There, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in this uttermost distress, reserved himself to the hopes of avenging that death, which all his efforts could not prevent nor delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears, or lamentable cries, they hurried on thro' the hostile territories; and found every heart, which was not steel'd by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion.

THE saving of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, tho' timeously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and discovered to the view a scene of human misery, beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compassion seized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities; while they observed the numerous foes, without and within, which every where environed them, and reflected on the weak resources, by which they were themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were enlisted into three regiments, the rest were distributed into the houses; and all care was taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a speedy period to their lives: Others, having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being, which they had lived. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired: without other consolation, than that of receiving, among their countrymen, the honours of a grave, which, to their slaughtered companions, had been denied by the inhuman barbarians.

By some computations, those, who perished by all those cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand: By the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they must have been near forty thousand.

Chap. VI. 1641. THE justices ordered to Dublin all the bodies of the army, which were not surrounded by the rebels; and they assembled a force of 1500 veterans. They soon enlisted, and armed from the magazines above 4000 men more. They dispatched a body of 600 men to throw relief into Tredagh, besieged by the Irish. But these troops, attacked by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and were most of them put to the sword. Their arms, falling into the hands of the Irish, supplied them with that, which they most wanted. The justices afterwards thought of nothing more than of providing for their own security and that of the capital. The Earl of Ormond, their general, remonstrated against such timid councils; but was obliged to submit to authority.

THE English of the pale, who probably were not, at first, in the secret, pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity, with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations, they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government. But in a little time, the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them than regard and duty to their native country. They chose Lord Gormanston their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivaled them in every act of cruelty towards the English protestants. Besides many smaller bodies, dispersed over the whole kingdom, the principal army of the rebels amounted to 20,000 men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege.

BOTH the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen: They pretended authority from the King and Queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed, that the cause of their taking arms, was to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. Sir Phelim O'neale, having found a royal patent in Lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed to it a commission, which he had forged for himself.

THE King received an account of this insurrection by a messenger, dispatched from the north of Ireland. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scotch parliament. He expected, that the mighty zeal, expressed by the Scotch, for the protestant religion, would immediately engage them to fly to its defence, where it was so violently invaded: He hoped, that their horror against popery, a religion, which now appeared in its most horrible aspect, would second all his exhortations: He had observed with what alacrity they had twice run to arms, and assembled troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign: He saw with how much greater facility they could now collect forces, which had been very lately disbanded, and which had been so long enured to military discipline. The cries of their affrighted and distressed brethren in Ireland, he promised himself, would

would powerfully incite them to send over succours, which could arrive so quickly, and aid them with such promptitude in this uttermost distress. But the zeal of the Scotch, as is usual among religious sects, was very feeble, when not stimulated either by faction or by interest. They now considered themselves intirely as a republic, and made no account of the authority of their prince, which they had utterly annihilated. Conceiving hopes from the present distresses of Ireland, they resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the future, with which they should supply their neighbouring nation. And they cast their eye on the English parliament, with whom they were already so closely connected, and who could alone settle any articles, which might be agreed on. Except dispatching a small body to support the Scotch colonies in Ulster, they would, therefore, go no farther, at present, than to send commissioners to London, in order to treat with that power, to whom the sovereign authority was now, in reality, transferred.

The King too, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. After communicating the intelligence, which he had received, he informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, he said, he committed the conduct and prosecution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interells, must, of necessity, be immediately entered upon, and vigorously pursued.

The English parliament was now assembled; and discovered, in every vote, the same dispositions, in which they had separated. The exalting their own authority, the diminishing the King's, were still the objects pursued by the majority. Every attempt, which had been made to gain the popular leaders, and by office to attach them to the crown, had failed of success, either for want of skill in conducting it, or by reason of the slender preferments, which it was then in the King's power to confer. The ambitious and enterprizing patriots declined to accept, in detail, of a precarious power; while they esteemed it so easy, by one bold and vigorous assault, to possess themselves for ever of the intire sovereignty of the state. Sensible, that the measures, which they had hitherto pursued, rendered them extremely obnoxious to the King; were many of them in themselves exceptionable; some of them, strictly speaking, illegal; they resolved to seek their own security, as well as greatness, by enlarging popular authority in England. The great necessities, to which the King was reduced; the violent prejudices, which generally, throughout the nation, prevailed against him; and finally in making the most important concessions; the example of the Scotch,

Chap. VI. whose encroachments had totally subverted monarchy: All these circumstances
1641. farther instigated the commons in their invasion of royal prerogative. And the danger, to which the constitution seemed to have been so lately exposed, persuaded many, that it never could be sufficiently secured, but by the intire abolition of that authority, which had invaded it.

BUT this project, it had not been in the power, scarce in the intention, of the popular leaders to execute, had it not been for the passion, which seized the nation, for presbyterian discipline, and for the wild enthusiasm, which, at that time, accompanied it. The licence, which the parliament had bestowed on this spirit, by checking ecclesiastical authority; the countenance and encouragement, with which they had honoured it; had already diffused its influence to a wonderful degree: And all orders of men had drunk deep of the intoxicating poison. In each discourse or conversation, this mode of religion entered; in all business, it had a share; every elegant pleasure or amusement, it utterly annihilated; many vices or corruptions of mind, it promoted; even diseases and bodily distempers were not totally exempted from it; and it became requisite, we are told, for all physicians to be expert in the spiritual profession, and, by theological considerations, to allay those religious terrors, with which their patients were so generally haunted. Learning itself, which tends so much to enlarge the mind, and humanize the temper, rather served, on this occasion, to exalt that epidemical frenzy, which prevailed. Rude as yet, and imperfect, it supplied the dismal fanaticism with a variety of views, founded it on some coherency of system, enriched it with different figures of elocution; advantages, with which a people, totally ignorant and barbarous, had been happily unacquainted.

FROM policy, at first, and inclination, now from necessity, the King attached himself extremely to the hierarchy: For like reasons, his enemies made account, by one and the same effort, to overpower the church and monarchy.

WHILE the commons were in this disposition, the Irish rebellion was the event, which tended most to promote the views, in which all their measures terminated. A horror against the papists, however innocent, they had constantly encouraged; a terror against the conspiracies of that sect, however improbable, they had, at all times, endeavoured to excite. Here was broke out a rebellion, dreadful and unexpected; accompanied with circumstances the most detestable, of which there ever was any record: And what was the peculiar guilt of the Irish catholics, it was no difficult matter, in the present disposition of men's minds, to attribute to that whole sect, who already were so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united councils.

councils. And when they heard, that the Irish rebels pleaded the King's commission for all their violences; bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance, so barbarous and inhuman *.

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By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and it seemed a peculiar happiness, that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at so critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. That expression of the King, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. They had, on other occasions, been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and most natural branch of authority, but with regard to Ireland they at once assumed it, fully

* It is now so universally allowed, notwithstanding some muttering to the contrary, that the King had no hand in the Irish rebellion, that it will be superfluous to insist on a point, which seems so clear. I shall only suggest a very few arguments, among an infinite number, which occur. (1) Ought the affirmation of peridious, infamous rebels ever to have passed for any authority? (2) No body can tell us what the words of the pretended commission were. That commission which we find in Rushworth's, and in Milton's works, Toland's edition, is plainly an imposture; because it pretends to be dated in October 1641, yet mentions facts, which happened not till some months after. It appears that the Irish rebels, observing some inconstitence in their first forgery, were obliged to forge this commission anew, yet could not render it coherent nor probable. (3) Nothing could more obviously be pernicious to the King's cause than the Irish rebellion; because it increased his necessities, and rendered him still more dependent on the parliament, who had before sufficiently shewn on what terms they would supply him. (4) The instant the King heard of the rebellion, which was a very few days after its commencement, he wrote to the parliament, and gave over to them the management of the war. Had he built any projects on that rebellion, would he not have waited some little time, to see how they would succeed? Would he presently have adopted a measure, which was obviously mortal to his authority? (5) What can be imagined to be the King's project? To call the Irish to arms, I suppose, and bring them over to England for his assistance? But is it not plain, that the King never intended to raise war in England? Had that been his intention, would he have rendered the parliament perpetual? Does it not appear by the whole train of events, that the parliament forced him into the war? (6) The King conveyed to his just and intelligent council, which ought to have prevented the rebellion. (7) The Irish Catholics, in all their former transactions with the King, were they ever able to excuse their insurrection, never had the assistance to sound the commission. Even amongst themselves they dropped that pretext. It appears that Sir John O'Neill, chiefly, and he only at first, promoted that imposture. See Charles O'Neill, vol. i. p. 111, 112, 114, 115, 121, 124, 137. (8) O'Neill himself costumed the imposture, at the trial and at his execution. See Nalson, vol. iii. p. 528. (9) It is ridiculous to insist on the promise, in which Charles II. gave to the Marquis of Antrim, that if he had acted by his father's commission, Antrim had no hand in the Irish rebellion and the massacre. He refused to do the rebels any two years after, and he performed important services to the King, till he was overthrown at the battle of Montrose.

Chap. VI. fully and intirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment.
 1641. And to this usurpation the King was obliged passively to submit; both because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the reproach of favouring the progress of that odious rebellion.

THE project of introducing farther innovations in England being once formed by the leaders among the commons, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with regard to Ireland would, all of them, be considered as subordinate to the former, on whose success, when once undertaken, their own grandeur, security, and even being, must intirely depend. While they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give them the superiority in those commotions, which, they foresaw, must so soon be excited in England. The extreme contempt, entertained towards the natives in Ireland, made the popular leaders believe, that it would be easy, at any time, to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom: Nor were they willing to lose, by too hasty success, the advantage, which that rebellion would afford them in their projected encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and dependence of every one, who had any connexion with Ireland, or who was desirous of inlisting in these military enterprizes: They levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes, which concerned them more nearly: They took arms from the King's magazines; but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself: Whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious councils, which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest, throughout all his dominions. And, tho' no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted, during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but fire and destruction to the Irish rebels.

To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to form a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; and accordingly, the committee, which, at the first meeting of the parliament, had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no advance in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

THE committee brought into the house that remonstrance, which has become so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the King; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The hardness of the matter was equalled by the severity of the language. It consisted of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evil truths: Malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: Loud complaints of the past, are mingled with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever injurious, whatever suspicious measure, had been embraced by the King from the commencement of his reign, is linked on and aggravated with merciless rhetoric: The unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz and the ill of Rhé are mentioned: The sending ships to France for suppression of the hugenots: The forced loans: The illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: The violent dissolution of four parliaments: The arbitrary government, which always succeeded: The questioning, dining, and imprisoning members for their conduct in the house: The levying taxes without consent of the commons: The introducing superstitious innovations into the church, with an authority of law: In short, every thing, which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the King to the calling of the present parliament. And, tho' all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of all these advantages was ascribed, not to the King, but to the parliament, who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the King, were equally great, as towards the people. Tho' they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary supplies be paid into their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended, that they had very liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more outrageous, the very giving money to the scotch for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded intirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the King's councils, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

This remonstrance, so full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the

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concessions, already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory. What pretensions would be advanced, how unprecedented, how unlimited, were easily imagined; and nothing less was foreseen, whatever ancient names might be preserved, than an abolition, almost total, of the monarchical government of England. The opposition, therefore, which the remonstrance met with in the house of commons, was very great. For above fourteen hours, the debate was warmly managed; and from the weariness of the King's party, which probably consisted chiefly of the elderly people, and men of cool spirits, the vote was, at last, carried by a small majority of eleven. Some time after, the remonstrance was ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up, as is usual in such cases, to the house of peers, for their assent and approbation.

November 22.

Reasons on
both sides.

WHEN this remonstrance was dispersed, it excited, every where, the same violent controversy, which had attended it, when introduced into the house of commons. This parliament, said the partizans of that assembly, have at last profited by the fatal example of their predecessors; and are resolved, that the fabric, which they have generously undertaken to rear for the protection of liberty, shall not be left to future ages, insecure and imperfect. At the time, when the petition of right, that requisite vindication of a violated constitution, was extorted from the unwilling prince; who but imagined, that liberty was at last secured, and that the laws would thenceforth maintain themselves in opposition to arbitrary authority? But what was the event? A *right* was indeed acquired to the people, or rather their ancient right was more exactly defined: But as the *power* of invading it still remained in the prince, no sooner did an opportunity offer, than he totally disregarded all laws and preceding engagements, and made his will and pleasure the sole rule of government. Those lofty ideas of monarchical government, which he had derived from his early education, which are united in his mind with the irresistible illusions of self-love, which are corroborated by his mistaken principles of religion, it is vainly hoped, in his more advanced age, that he will sincerely renounce, from any subsequent reflection or experience. Such conversions, if ever they happen, are extremely rare; but to expect, that they will be derived from necessity, from the jealousy and resentment of antagonists, from blame, from reproach, from opposition, must be the result of the fondest and most blind credulity. These violences, however requisite, are sure to irritate a prince against limitations, so cruelly imposed upon him; and each concession, which he is forced to make, is regarded as a temporary tribute paid to faction and sedition, and is secretly attended with a resolution of seizing

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preserving the laws inviolate, and gaining the intire confidence of his people. The rigor of the subsequent parliaments had been extreme with regard to many articles, particularly tonnage and poundage; and had reduced the King to an absolute necessity, if he would preserve entirely the royal prerogative, of levying those duties by his own authority, and of breaking thro' the forms, in order to maintain the spirit of the constitution. Having once made so perilous a step, he was naturally induced to continue, and to consult the public interest, by levying ship-money, and other moderate, tho' irregular, impositions and taxations. It is now full time to free him from all these necessities, and to apply cordials and lenitives, after those severities, which have already had their full course against him. Never sovereign was blessed with more moderation of temper, with more justice, more humanity, more honour, or a more magnanimous disposition. What pity, that such a prince should so long have been harrassed with rigors, suspicions, calumnies, complaints, encroachments; and been forced from that path, in which the rectitude of his disposition would have inclined him to have constantly trod! If some few instances are found of violations made on the petition of right, which he himself had granted; there is an easier and more natural way for preventing the return of like inconveniences than by a total abolition of royal authority. Let the revenue be settled, suitable to the antient dignity and splendor of the crown; let the public necessities be fully supplied; let the remaining articles of prerogative be left untouched: And the King, as he has already lost the power, will lay aside the will, of invading the constitution. From what quarter can jealousies now arise? What farther security can be desired or expected? The King's precedent concessions, so far from being insufficient for public security, have rather erred on the other extreme; and, by depriving him of all power of self-defence, are the real cause, why the commons are emboldened to raise pretensions hitherto unheard of in the kingdom, and to subvert the whole system of the constitution. But, would they be contented with moderate advantages, is it not evident, that, besides other important concessions, the present parliament may be continued till the government is accustomed to the new track, and every part is related to full harmony and concord? By the triennial act, a perpetual succession of parliaments is established, as everlasting guardians to the laws, where the king possesses no independent power or military force, by which he can be supported in his invasion of them. No danger remains, but what is inseparable from all free constitutions, and what forms the very essence of their liberty: The danger of a change in the people's disposition, and of general dissent, contracted against popular privileges. To prevent such an evil, no exco-

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high was the national idolatry towards parliaments, that to blame the past conduct of these assemblies, had been very ill received by the generality of the people. So loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that had the King asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, arising from the obstinacy of parliaments, he would have increased the clamours, with which the whole nation already resounded. Charles, therefore, contented himself with observing, in general, that, even during that period, so much complained of, the people enjoyed a great measure of happiness; not only comparatively, in respect of their neighbours, but even in respect of those times, which were justly accounted the most fortunate. He made warm protestations of sincerity in the reformed religion; he promised indulgence to tender consciences with regard to the ceremonies of the church; he mentioned his great concessions to national liberty; he blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person and the national religion; he complained of the general reproaches, thrown out in the remonstrance, with regard to ill councils, tho' he had protected no minister from parliamentary justice, retained no unpopular servant, and conferred offices on no one, who enjoyed not a high character and estimation in the public. "If notwithstanding this," he adds, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country, to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment." Nothing shows more evidently the hard situation in which Charles was placed, than to observe, that he was obliged to confine himself within the limits of civility towards subjects, who had transgressed all bounds of regard, and even of good manners, in their treatment of their sovereign.

The first instance of those parliamentary encroachments, which Charles was now to look for, was the bill for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. This bill quickly passed the lower house. In the preamble, the King's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared legal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. By a necessary consequence, the prerogative, which had hitherto had ever assumed, of obliging men to accept of any branch of public service, was abolished and annihilated: A prerogative, he must be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the King

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went from the arbitrary power of the lower house; the peers, while the King was in Scotland, having passed an order for the observance of the laws with regard to public worship, the commons assumed such authority, that, by a vote alone of their house, they suspended those laws, tho' enacted by the whole legislature: And they particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus; a practice, which gave them the highest scandal, and which was one of their capital objections against the established religion. They complained of the King's filling five vacant sees, and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should compleat and strengthen an order, which they intended soon entirely to abolish*. They had accused thirteen bishops of high treason for enacting canons without consent of parliament; tho', from the foundation of the monarchy, no other method had ever been practised: And they now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. Their bill for taking away the bishop's votes had, last winter, been rejected by the peers: But they again introduced the same bill, tho' no prorogation had intervened; and they endeavoured, by some minute alterations, to elude that rule of parliament which opposed them. And when they sent up this bill to the lords, they made a demand, the most absurd in the world, that the bishops, being all of them parties, should be refused a vote with regard to that question. After the resolution was once formed by the commons, of invading the established government of church and state, it could not be expected, that their proceedings, in such a violent attempt, would thenceforth be altogether regular and equitable: But it must be confessed, that, in their attacks on the hierarchy, they still more openly transgressed all bounds of moderation; as supposing, no doubt, that the sacredness of the cause would sufficiently atone for employing means, the most irregular and unprecedented. The principle, which prevails so much among zealots, never displayed itself so openly, as during the transactions of this whole period.

But, notwithstanding all these efforts of the commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the upper house, either to this law, or to any other, which they should introduce for the farther limitation of royal authority. The inequality of the taxes assessed to the King, and plainly forebaw the depression of nobility, as a necessary consequence of popular usurpations on the crown. The influence indeed, of the commons; and their haughty treatment of the lords, had already risen to a high pitch, and gave sufficient warning of their future attempts upon that order. They muttered somewhat of their regret, that they should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the house of peers would have no part in the

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multitude, to whose capacity they were well adapted. Beale, a taylor, informed the commons, that, walking in the fields, he had hearkened to the discourse of certain persons, unknown to him, and had heard them talk of a most dangerous conspiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight lords and commoners, and were promised rewards for these assassinations, ten pounds for each lord, forty shillings for each commoner. Upon this notable intelligence, orders were issued for seizing priests and jesuits, a conference was desired with the lords, and an ordinance of both houses was framed for putting the kingdom immediately in a posture of defence*.

The pulpits likewise were called in aid, and resounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the desperate attempts of papists and malignants. Multitudes of people flocked towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates and such of the lords as adhered to the crown. The peers voted a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the other house; but these refused their concurrence†. Some seditious apprentices, being seized and committed to prison, immediately received their liberty, by an order of the commons. The sheriffs and justices having appointed constables with strong watches to guard the parliament; the commons sent for the constables, and required them to discharge the watches, convened the justices, voted their orders a breach of privilege, and sent one of them to the Tower‡. Encouraged by these indications of their pleasure, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the King himself. Several reformed officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their services to his Majesty. Between them and the populace, there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of ROUNDHEADS; on account of the short cropt hair, which they wore: These called the others CAVALIERS. And thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided of religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, were also supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred.

Mean while, the tumults still continued, and even increased, about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry continually resounded against *Bishops and Roman hearted lords*. The former especially, being easily distinguishable by their habit, and being the object of violent hatred to all the sectaries, were exposed to the

* *Parliamentary History*, vol. II. p. 46. Journ. 10th Nov. 1641.

† *Parliamentary History*, vol. II. p. 110.

‡ *Parliamentary History*, vol. II. p. 112. Journ. 27, 28, and 29th of December 1641.

the most dangerous insult. Williams, now created Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his bishops. By his advice, a protestation was drawn and submitted to the King and the House of Lords. The bishops therein protested, that, tho' they had no constitutional right to sit and vote in parliament, yet, in doing thine, they had been wronged, insulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the house. For this reason they protested against all bills, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the absence of them, and violent absence. This protestation, which, tho' null and void, was certainly very ill-timed, was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the King, who hastily approved of it. As soon as it was presented to the House, that House desired a conference with the commons, where they announced this unexpected protestation. The opportunity was feared with joy and alarm. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from parliament and committed to custody. No man, in either house, ventured to speak a word for their vindication; so much displeased was every one at the egregious impudence of which they had been guilty. One person alone said, that he did not suppose them guilty of high treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to bedlam.

A few days afterword, the King was guilty of another indiscretion, much more fatal. An insurrection, to which all the ensuing disorders were owing, ought, immediately and directly, to be ascribed. This was the insurrection of Lord Kimbolton and the five members.

When the commons employed, in their remonstrances, language so strong and violent, they had not been actuated entirely by intestine malice. Their views were much more solid and profound. They considered, that, if a violent attempt, such as an invasion of the ancient constitution, the most violent way of affecting the people to reflect, the less would they be inclined to favour their rulers. It did not escape their eyes, that the peers would certainly exclude their representatives, and there any hopes of persuading on them, but by extending the representation to all ranks and disorders, that the commons took various measures for obtaining the suffrages, at large, and, besides, to secure popularity, and raise the interest of many parties; and that, if the House could resist in tranquillity, and steadily maintain the real value of one people's suffrages, in the long run, their ground would be almost sure to preponderate over the interests of the peers.

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situation. They were therefore resolved, if possible, to excite him to some violent passion; in hopes, that he would commit indiscretions, of which they might make advantage.

It was not long before they succeeded beyond their fondest wishes. Charles, enraged to find, that all his concessions but increased their demands; that the people, who were returning to a sense of duty towards him, were again roused to sedition and tumults; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and even the Irish massacre ascribed to his councils and machinations; that a method of address was adopted, not only unfit towards so great a prince, but which no private gentleman could bear without resentment: When he considered all these increasing insolences in the commons, he was apt to ascribe them, in a great measure, to his own indolence and facility. The Queen and the ladies of the court farther stimulated his passion, and represented, that, if he exerted the vigour, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink before him. Lord Digby, a man of fine parts, but full of levity, and hurried on by precipitant passions, suggested like councils; and Charles, who, tho' commonly moderate in his temper, was ever disposed to hasty resolutions, gave way to the fatal importunity of his friends and servants.

Accusation of
the five mem-
bers.

HERBERT, attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers, and, in his Majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, That they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the King of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his Majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands, and to side with them in their traiterous designs; that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and very being of parliaments; that, in order to compleat their traiterous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them, and to that end, had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and parliament; and that they had traiterously conspired to levy and actually had levied war against the King.

The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. Some of these articles of accusation, men said, to judge by appearance, seem to be common be-

CHAP. VI. 1672. “ obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that, tho’ no
 “ king, that ever was in England, could be more careful of your privileges
 “ than I shall be, yet in cases of treason, no person has privilege. Therefore,
 “ am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find
 “ them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect, that you will
 “ send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you, on the word of a
 “ king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair
 “ and legal way : For I never meant any other. And now since I see I cannot
 “ do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said
 “ formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects,
 “ I do intend to maintain it.”

WHEN the King was looking about for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the house ? The speaker, falling on his knee, very prudently replied : “ I have, Sir, neither
 “ eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give
 “ any other answer to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me.”

THE commons were in the utmost disorder, and when the King was departing some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, *Privilege ! privilege !* And the house immediately adjourned till next day.

THAT evening, the accused members, in order to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were, the whole night, in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpose, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to fire the city, and that the King himself was at their head.

NEXT morning, Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common council immediately. About ten o’clock, he himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guild-hall. He told the council, That he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him ; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to shew how much he relied on their affections ; that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed, that they would meet with protection in the city. After many other gracious expressions, he told one of the sheriffs, who of the two was esteemed the least inclined to his service, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing thro’ the streets, he heard the cry, *Privilege of parliament ! privilege of parliament !* resounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew

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plorable situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigors of destiny, or the malignity of enemies: His own precipitancy and indiscretion must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befall him. The most faithful of his adherents, between sorrow and indignation, were confounded with reflections on what had happened, and what was likely to follow. Seeing every prospect blasted, faction triumphant, the discontented populace enflamed to a degree of fury, they utterly despaired of success, in a cause, to whose ruin, friends and enemies seemed equally to conspire.

THE prudence of the King's conduct, in such a juncture, no body pretended to justify. The legality of it met with many and just apologies; tho' generally offered to unwilling ears. No maxim of law, it was said, is more established, or more universally allowed, than that privileges of parliament extend not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; nor has either house, during former ages, ever pretended, in any of those cases, to interpose in behalf of its members. Tho' some inconveniences should result from the observance of this maxim; that would not be sufficient, without other authority, to abolish a principle, established by uninterrupted precedent, and founded on the tacit consent of the whole legislature. But what are the inconveniences so much dreaded? The King, under pretence of treason, may seize any members of the opposite faction, and, for a time, gain to his partizans the majority of voices. But if he seize only a few; will he not lose more friends, by such a gross artifice, than he confines enemies? If he seize a great number; is not this expedient force, open and bare-faced? And what remedy, in all times, against such force, but to oppose to it a force, which is superior? Even allowing, that the King intended to employ violence, not authority, for seizing the members; tho', at that time, and ever afterwards, he positively asserted the contrary; yet will his conduct admit of excuse. That the hall, where the parliament assembles, is an inviolable sanctuary, was never yet pretended. And if the commons complain of the affront offered them, by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence; they ought only to complain of themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the King's message, when he peaceably demanded these members. The sovereign is the great executor of the law; and his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited *.

CHARLES

* " In a parliament of Queen Elizabeth, when Sir John Coke was speaker, the Queen sent " a messenger or sergeant at arms into the house of commons, and took out Mr. Morrice, and committed him to prison with divers others, for some speeches spoken in the house. Thereupon

" Mr.

Chap. VI. offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had deserved. And they added, *That*
 1692. *if such remedies were any longer suspended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, "That necessity has no law."*

Another petition was presented by several poor people, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed as a remedy for the public miseries, *That those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concur with the happy votes of the commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote, as one intire body.* The commons gave thanks for this petition.

THE very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been exercised upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the women of Tekoah: And they claimed equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consist equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the house; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged, that their prayers for the success of the commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected! And by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!

ALL petitions, in the mean time, which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were not only discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents: And this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified. Whoever desire a change, it was said, must express their inclination; for how, otherwise, shall it be known? But those who favour the established government in church or state, should not petition; because they already enjoy what they wish for *.

THE King had possessed a very great party in the lower house, as appeared in the vote for the remonstrance; and this party, had every new cause of disgust been carefully avoided, would soon have become the majority; from the odium attending the violent measures employed by the popular leaders. A great majority he always possessed in the house of peers, even after the bishops were confined or chased away; and this majority could not have been overcome, but by outrages, which, in the end, would have drawn disgrace and ruin on those who incited them. By the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, were all these

* Clarendon.

Chap. VI. the impotence of his situation, the commons believed, that he could now refuse
 1042. them nothing. And they regarded the least moment of relaxation, in their invasion of royal authority, as highly impolitic, during the uninterrupted torrent of their successes. The very moment they were informed of these last acquisitions, they affronted the Queen, by opening some intercepted letters wrote to her by Lord Digby : They carried up an impeachment against Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his master's commands in accusing their members : And they prosecuted with fresh vigour their plan of the militia, on which they rested all future hopes of an uncontrouled authority.

THE commons were sensible, that monarchical government, which, during so many ages, had been established in England, would soon regain some degree of its former dignity, after the present tempest was overblown ; nor would all their new invented limitations be able totally to suppress an authority, to which the nation had ever been accustomed. The sword alone, to which all human ordinances must submit, could guard their acquired power, and fully ensure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of their sovereign. This point, therefore, became the chief object of their aims. A large magazine of arms was placed in the town of Hull, and they dispatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of a very ancient family ; and gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament. Not contented with having obliged the King to displace Lunsford, whom he had made governor of the tower ; they never ceased soliciting him till he had also displaced Sir John Biron, a man of unexceptionable character ; and had bestowed that command on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence. By a bold and decisive stroke, they now resolved at once to seize the whole power of the sword, and to confer it intirely on their own creatures and adherents.

THE severe votes, passed in the beginning of this parliament, against lieutenants and their deputies, for exercising powers assumed by all their predecessors, had totally disarmed the crown, and had not left in any magistrate military authority sufficient for the defence and security of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared necessary. An ordinance was introduced and passed the two houses, which restored to lieutenants and deputies the same powers, of which the votes of the commons had bereaved them ; but at the same time, the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the ordinance ; and these consisted intirely of men, in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they

they were accountable, by the express terms of the ordinance, not to the King, but to the parliament.

The policy, pursued by the Commons, and which had already succeeded to admiration, was to win with the King by the address of their complaints, to intermingling no resentment with their supplication, to employ expressions no less virtuous than their pretensions, and to make the King believe that their accusations were more directed at his person or his country. To a bill, so defensive of royal authority, they prefixed with an indignant simplicity, a preamble equally endeared to the personal character of the King. There are two words, “Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the crown, not common, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody counsel of papists and other illaffected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland. And whereas, by reason of many other causes, we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to bring up the late rebellions and interfections in this kingdom of England; but also to back them with forces from abroad, &c.”

Henry Charles had ventured to put a stop to his councillors, and that not generally, but a delay. When this demand was made, a German, without a name, the commons judly returned as the last they should ever have occasion to name; he was at Dover, attending the Queen and the Princess of Orange on their embarkation. He replied, that he had not more than to confide, a matter of so great importance, and must therefore require an answer, not so soon. The parliament instantly dispatched another message to him, with instructions still more important. They expressed their great grief on account of the war which a deliver to their hat and necessity put them. They represented, that any delay, in so great dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was not less criminal than would be more than an absolute denial. They desired, that it was possible to suspend an examination a measure inconsistent to public safety. And they affirmed, that the people in every country had applied to their king that parley, and that the princes, were, of themselves and by their own authority, providing against their urgent dangers, with which they were threatened.

After this answer, the King could not avoid suspending the demand. He was obliged to the preamble, which twice had delivered upon him, had presented the language of a constitution, were he against the words of necessity, and that the military constitution. It is not necessary, to say, that the commons, would be obliged to the King, and the parliament as without circumstances, and that the commons, would be obliged to the King, and the parliament as without circumstances, and that the commons, would be obliged to the King, and the parliament as without circumstances.

“The commons, would be obliged to the King, and the parliament as without circumstances, and that the commons, would be obliged to the King, and the parliament as without circumstances.”

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had named in the ordinance. By a former message, he had expressed his wishes, that they would lay before him, in one view, all the demands, which they deemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They pretended, that they were exposed to perils, so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work. The expedient, proposed by the King, seemed a sufficient remedy during this emergence; and yet preserved the prerogative of the crown, intire and unbroken.

1st of March. But the intentions of the commons were very wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They instantly replied, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the King speedily complied with their demands, they should be enforced, for the safety of the King and kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. They asserted, that those parts of the kingdom, which have, from their own authority, put themselves in a posture of defence during these prevailing jealousies and fears, have acted suitable to the declarations and directions of both houses, and conformable to the laws of the kingdom. And while they thus menaced the King with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where, they knew, he would be intirely at mercy*.

“ I am so much amazed at this message,” said the King in his prompt reply, “ that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: And if so, I assure you, that this message has nothing lessened them.

“ As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

“ For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: Ask yourselves whether I have not.

“ What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask, what you have done for me.

“ Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this consider-

“ ed,

* Rushworth, part 3. vol. 1. chap. 4.

Chap. VI. had transported the capital, still retained a sincere regard for the church and monarchy; and the king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either personally or by messâges and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery, with which they were threatened. The small interval of time, which had passed since the fatal accusation of the members, had been sufficient to open the eyes of many, and to recover them from the astonishment, with which, at first, they had been seized. One rash and passionate attempt of the King seemed but a small counter-balance to so many acts of deliberate violence, which had been offered to him and every other branch of the legislature. And however sweet the sound of liberty, many resolved to adhere to that moderate freedom, transmitted them from their ancestors, and now better secured by such important concessions; rather than, by engaging in a giddy search after greater independence, run a manifest risque, either of incurring a cruel subjection, or abandoning all law and order.

CHARLES, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with a vigour, which he had never before exerted. Notwithstanding all their remonstrances, and menaces, and insults, he still persisted in refusing the militia-ordinance; and they proceeded to frame a new ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the King's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, the whole guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; the most precipitant and most enormous, of which there is any instance in the English history: And, as he professed a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so was he determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was so essential to all laws, and so familiar in all acts of executive authority, that the parliament were afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too sensible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his Majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. And, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king; those very forces, which they employed against him, they levied in his name and by his authority.

It is remarkable how much the topics of argument were now reversed between the parties. The King, while he acknowledged his former error, of employing a plea of necessity, in order to infringe the laws and constitution, warned the

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mine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons, proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Besides private adventurers without number, the King and parliament themselves carried on the controversy, by messages, remonstrances, and declarations, where the nation was really the party, to whom all arguments were addressed. Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cause was more favourable, as supporting the antient government of church and state, against the most illegal pretensions: It was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of secretary; a man who adorned the purest virtue, with the richest gifts of nature, with the most valuable acquisitions of learning. By him, assisted by the King himself, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly composed. So sensible was Charles of his superiority in this particular, that he took care to disperse every where the papers of the parliament together with his own, that the people might be the more enabled, by comparison, to form a judgment between them: The parliament, while they distributed copies of their own, were anxious to suppress all the King's compositions.

To clear up the principles of the constitution, to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several members, to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from the King's late concessions, to demonstrate his intire confidence in his people and his reliance on their affections, to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made him, and the enormous encroachments, insults, and indignities, to which he had been exposed; these were the topics, which, with so much justness of reasoning and propriety of expression, were insisted on in the King's declarations and remonstrances *.

THO'

* In some of these declarations, supposed to be penned by Lord Falkland, is found the first regular definition of the constitution, according to our present ideas of it, that occurs in any English composition; at least any, published by authority. The three species of government, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, are there plainly distinguished, and the English government is expressly said to be none of them pure, but all of them mixed and tempered together. This idea, tho' the force of it was implied in many institutions, no former king of England would have used, and no subject would have been permitted to use. Barke and the crown-lawyers against Mandlen, in the case of ship-money, insist plainly and openly on the king's absolute and sovereign power. And the opposite lawyers do not deny it: They only assert, that the subjects have also a fundamental property in their goods, and that no part of them can be taken but by their own consent in parliament. After that the parliament was instituted to check and controul the king, and share the supreme power, would in all these times, have been esteemed very blunt and indirect, if not illegal, language. We need not be surprized, that government should long continue, tho' the boundaries

That the violent nature of controversy, and needed much to reconcile the nation to Charles, it was evident, that they would not be decisive, and that keener weapons must determine the controversy. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, the king opposed his commissions of array. The counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they stood affected. And in many counties, where the people were divided, mobbish combats and skirmishes ensued. The parliament on this occasion, went so far as to vote, "That, when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privileges." This was a plain assuming the whole legislative authority, and exerting it in the most material article, the government of the militia. Upon the same principles they pretended, by a verbal criticism on the sense of a Latin verb, to ravish from the king his negative voice in the legislature*.

The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied against the Scotch; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, tho' he had accepted of a commission from the parliament, was not thought to be much disaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, entertained hopes, that, if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he might easily render himself master of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates, and refused to receive the King, who desired leave to enter with twenty persons only. Charles immediately proclaimed him traitor, and complained to the parliament of his disobedience. The parliament avowed, and justified the action.

of authority, in their several branches, be implicit, confused, and undetermined. This is the case over the world. Who can draw an exact line between the spiritual and temporal powers, or the civil and ecclesiastical? What code included the private councils of the Roman pontiff, in every circumstance? In some of the English the admixt government, where the authority of every party has been very accurately defined. And yet there still remain many very important questions between the two powers, that, by common consent, are termed undivided. These. The king's powers, indeed, more exactly limited; but the period, of which we now treat, is the time, at which this power commenced. And it appears from Warwic and Holles, that many regards Bladud was placed and precious in the English penman, and thought that the veil was very impudently taken off the mystery of government. It is certain, that liberty reaped mighty advantages from their controversy and inquiry; and the royal authority itself became more keener, when those powers which were assigned to it.

* The King, by his coronation oath, promised, that he would maintain the laws and customs of the people, had chosen, *quod regis obligat*. The parliament pretended, that in making this promise, the King had no right to reserve any bill which was already enacted.

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Preparations
for civil war.

THE county of York levied a guard for the King of 600 men: For the Kings of England had hitherto lived among their subjects like fathers among their children, and had derived all their security from the dignity of their character and from the protection of the laws. The two houses, tho' they had already levied a guard for themselves; had attempted to seize all the military power, all the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; had openly employed their authority in every species of warlike preparation: Yet immediately voted, "That the King, seduced by wicked council, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end, but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

THE armies, which had been every where raised under pretence of the service of Ireland, were henceforth more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the Earl of Essex. In London no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day *. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general.

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THEY issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces, which should defend the King and both houses of parliament: For this style they still preserved. Within ten days, vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Hardly were there men enough to receive it, or room sufficient to flow it. And many with regret were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treasurers could find leisure to receive them. Such zeal animated the pious partizans of the parliament, especially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the *Good cause* against the oppressants.

MEANWHILE the splendor of the Nobility, with which the King was environed, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster. The Lord keeper, Littleton, after sending the great seal before him, had fled to York. Above forty peers of the first rank attended the King; whilst the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Near the moiety too of the lower House absented themselves from councils, which they esteemed so full of danger. The commons set up an impeachment against nine peers, for deserting their duty in parliament.

Their

* *Alms for God in the morning.*

He, however, refused, and, who *had* *been* *in* *the* *parliament*, *that* *he* *did* *not* *understand* *the* *business* *of* *the* *parliament* *and* *consequently* *was* *not* *bound* *to* *obey* *the* *parliament*.

CHARLES made a declaration, in the presence of his court, that he would not give from them his obedience to any parliament, which was not summoned by the laws of the land. The peers answered him, that they, as private persons, declared their resolution to obey the parliament, but when he was asked what he thought of that authority. By these declarations, and others, to which *of* *the* *English* *nobility*, and English nobility, they meant to confound the law, and to make the parliament void, as taken by the parliament.

The Queen, departing on the crown jewels in Holland, had *been* *obliged* *to* *perpetrate* *a* *large* *crime* *of* *murders* *and* *assaults*. *Part* *of* *these*, after *many* *perils*, arrived lately to the King. His disposition was not more forward as those of the parliament. He was not even sensible of their illegality, but that their usurpation, and illegal pretensions should be apparent to the whole world, and thought, that, to recover the possession of the crown, was a point much more material to his interest, than the suffering apprehensions, losses, or armies, which might breed apprehensions, or wounds, or illegal commands. But the urgent necessity of his situation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himself for defence. With a spirit, activity, and address, which neither the opposition apprehended, nor the other expected, he employed all the advantages, which were due to him, and raised up his adherents in arms. The reputation of this Prince's genius increased in proportion to his difficulties, and he now appeared greater than when plunging him the deepest perils and dangers. The mixture character, indeed, of Charles and his party, the mixture of power and guilt was, at this time, involved. His political views, or rather weakness, had raised him inveterate enemies. His conduct, and virtues had produced the same paritizers. And between the interests of the two, and the effects of the other, was the contest agitated with the most violent controversy.

For the King could not depend on the parliament, but left the possibility, or rather they were willing to enter to agreement. Their demands, which had been propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchy and clergy. They insisted, that no man should exercise a civil power, without the consent of the people, and that no man should exercise a military power, without the consent of the council, and that no man should exercise a judicial power, without the consent of the judges, and that no man should exercise a legislative power, without the consent of the parliament. They insisted, that no man should exercise a power, without the consent of the people, and that no man should exercise a power, without the consent of the council, and that no man should exercise a power, without the consent of the judges, and that no man should exercise a power, without the consent of the parliament.

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according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament may pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; that no peers be made but with consent of both houses.

“SHOULD I grant these demands,” said the King in reply, “I may be waited on bare-headed; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty be continued to me; and *The King’s authority, signified by both houses*, may be still the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (tho’ even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock, upon which they grew, was dead): But as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King.” War on any terms was esteemed, by the King and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly made account of supporting his authority by arms. “His towns,” he said, “were taken from him, his ships, his arms, his money; but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God’s blessing, he doubted not, would recover all the rest.” Collecting therefore some forces, he advanced southwards; and at Nottingham, he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the nation.

C H A P. VII.

Commencement of the civil war.—State of parties.—Battle of Edgehill.—Negotiation at Oxford.—Victories of the royalists in the west.—Battle of Stratton.—Of Lansdown.—Of Roundway-down.—Death of Humbden.—Bristol taken.—Siege of Gloucester.—Battle of Newbury.—Actions in the north of England.—Solemn league and covenant.—Arming of the Scotch.—State of Ireland.

WHEN two names, so sacred in the English constitution, as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition to each other; no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and faction.

The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, ranged themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. Animated with the spirit of loyalty, derived from their ancestors, they adhered to the antient principles of the constitution, and valued themselves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the possessions, of the old English families. And while they passed their time mostly in their country-seats, they were surprized to hear of opinions prevailing, with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied not a limitation, but an abolition almost total, of monarchical authority*.

The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles, on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The government of cities, which, even under absolute monarchies, is commonly republican, inclined them to this party: The small hereditary inheritance, which can be retained over the industrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over those more numerous associations of mankind; all these causes gave, there, authority to the new principles propagated throughout the nation. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce

* Among the other nobles, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Albemarle, were remarkable; the former, extremely attached to the court, and the latter, much influenced and misled by the parliament. He fled in France in 1792.

Clap. VII. saw with indignation, that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not
 12. raise themselves to a level with the antient gentry: They therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and consideration. And the new splendor and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, made all the commercial part of the nation ardently desire to see a like form of government established in England.

THE genius of the two religions, so closely, at this time, interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The presbyterian religion was new, republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: The other had an air of greater show and ornament, was established on antient authority, and bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partizans of the parliament: The friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy.

SOME men also there were of liberal education, who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes, bandied about by the clergy of both sides, aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amidst the jovial entertainment and social intercourse of their companions. All these flocked to the King's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity, which reigned among the parliamentary party.

NEVER was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that between the contending parties: Almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The King's revenue had been seized, from the beginning, by the parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence; and as soon as he withdrew to York, they totally stopped all payments. London and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions were more easily raised from the cities, which possessed the ready money, and where men lived under their inspection, than they could be levied by the King in those open countries, which, after some time, declared for him.

THE seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports, to which they belonged. And the Earl of Northumberland, Lord admiral, having embraced the party of the parliament, had named, at their desire, the Earl of Warwick for his lieutenant; who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly.

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THE contempt, entertained of the King's party, was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremity against him; and many believed, that he never would attempt resistance, but must at last yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the two houses. Even after his standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The low condition, in which he appeared at Nottingham, confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, though far from numerous, he had been obliged to leave at York; for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided of arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon the King, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled. By pursuing him in his retreat, they would have so discredited his cause and discouraged his adherents, as to have for ever prevented his gathering an army able to make head against them. But the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. What rendered them so backward, after such precipitant steps as they had formerly taken, is not easily explained. 'Tis probable, that in the extreme distress of his party consisted the present safety of the King. The parliament hoped, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much the more compleat and secure, that it would be gained without the appearance of force, and without bloodshed. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the conclusive step, and offer bare-faced violence to their sovereign, their scruples and apprehensions, tho' not sufficient to overcome their resolutions, were able to retard the execution of them.

SIR Jacob Astley, whom the King had appointed major general of his intended army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the King's attendants were full of well grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired, that a message might be sent to the parliament with overtures to a treaty; Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be farther insisted on. But next day, the Earl of

Southampton, when no one could suspect of his untried conduct, having offered the same advice, it was hearkened to with more credulity and devotion. He urged, That, should such a step would probably excite the indignation of the parliament; this was so far from being an obstacle, that such indignation must necessarily turn to the advantage of the royal cause. That, if they refused to treat, which was a still probable, the very sound of peace was a popular rumour, which could more easily excite the nation than factually be proved. That, if they entered of a treaty, their proposals, confirming their present conduct, would be to exhortant, as to open the eyes of their most partial adherents, and gain the general favour to the King's party: And that, at worst, time might be gained by this expedient, and a delay of the imminent danger, with which the King was at present threatened.

CHAMBERS, on assembling the council, had declared against all advances towards an accommodation; and had said, that, having, now nothing left him but his honour, that last possession he was resolved to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of his enemies. But by the concurrent desire of the counsellors, he was prevailed with to embrace Southampton's advice. That Nobleman, therefore, with Sir John Colepeper and Sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London with offers of a treaty. The manner of their reception gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the altar, and to depart the city immediately: The commons showed little better disposition to Colepeper and Uvedale. Both houses replied, that they could admit no treaty with the King, till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The King, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two houses; but offered to recall those proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recall those, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him in return to dismiss his force, to reside with his parliament, and to resign all his revenues. Both parties entered themselves, that, by their refusal and reply, they had gained their end, which they proposed. The King perceived, that the parliament were

efficiently rid of the parliament's influence and authority to govern. The parliament intended, by this vigorous and unanimous reply, to prevent the possibility of a secondary operation.

The courage of the parliament was supported by the same spirit of resolution, by two recent events, which had happened in their country. George was governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and the

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its situation, of great importance. This man seemed to have rendered himself an implacable enemy to the King, by betraying, probably magnifying, the secret cabals of the army; and the parliament thought, that his fidelity to them might, on that account, be entirely depended on. But the same levity of mind still attended him, and the same disregard to engagements and professions. He took underhand his measures with the court, and declared against the parliament. But, tho' he had been sufficiently supplied with money, and long before knew his danger; so small was his foresight, that he had left the place entirely destitute of provisions, and, in a few days, was obliged to surrender to the forces of the parliament.

THE Marquess of Hertford was a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the King, descended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James, he had attempted, without having obtained the consent of that monarch, to marry Arabella Stuart, a Lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon discovery of his intention, had been obliged, for some time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great measure, he withdrew; and living in an independent manner, he addicted himself intirely to literary occupations and amusements. In proportion as the King declined in popularity, Hertford's character flourished with the people; and when this parliament assembled, no nobleman in the kingdom possessed more general favour and authority. By his sagacity, he soon perceived, that the commons, not content with correcting the abuses of government, were carried, by the natural current of power and popularity, into the opposite extreme, and were committing violations, no less dangerous than the former, upon the English constitution. Immediately he devoted himself to the support of the King's falling authority, and was prevailed with to be governor to the young Prince, and reside in the court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his presence, a new lustre and authority. So high was his character for mildness and humanity, that he still preserved, by means of these popular virtues, the public favour; and every one was sensible of the true motive of his change. Notwithstanding his habits of ease and study, he now bestirred himself in raising an army for the King; and being named general of the western counties, where his interest chiefly lay, he began to assemble forces in Somersetshire. By the assistance of Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, John Digby, son to the Earl of Bristol, Sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together some appearance of an army; when the parliament, apprehensive of the danger, sent the Earl of Bedford with a considerable force against him. On his appearance, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne castle; and finding that place incapable of defence,

defence, he himself passed over into Wales, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horse, consisting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception. Chap. VII.
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ALL the dispersed bodies of the parliament's army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to 15000 men. The King, tho' his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was sensible, that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force; and he thought it prudent, by slow marches, to retire to Derby and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies, which his friends were making in those quarters. At Wellington, a long's march from Shrewsbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of each regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal ties, he solemnly took the following protestation before his whole army.

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, established in the church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die."

"I desire, that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may by them be preserved with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion; I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom, and particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I have sworn my assent this parliament. Mean while, if this emergency, and the necessity to which I am driven, require violation of law, I hope it shall be warranted by God and I mean to the ends of this warfare, to use all laws to the contrary, as I should be bound to preserve the peace of the kingdom."

"Which I willingly, but in their parliament, I have engaged myself to refer from him, to his protection from above: Be assured, therefore, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and an assistance of the best sort, from heaven."

That the concurrence of the church and nobility supported the King's measures, it may truly be affirmed, that though many of the nobles, who had been solicited by the clergy, had never declared a party with Charles. The great number of peers of nobility and gentry, who now attended the King before Shrewsbury, that

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were none who breathed not the spirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty: And in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government, were they willing in his defence to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

WHILE the King's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, tho' in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the universities, which was sent him; the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

ON the appearance of commotions in England, the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate Palatine, had offered their service to the King; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No sooner had the Prince arrived, than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay, he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys, who led them and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horse. The whole party was routed, and was pursued above a mile. The Prince hearing of Essex's approach, retired to the king. This rencounter, tho' in itself of small importance, raised mightily the reputation of the royalists, and acquired universally to Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities, which he eminently displayed, during the whole course of the war.

THE King, on mustering his army, found it about 10,000 men. The Earl of Lindsey, who in his youth had fought experience of military service in the low-countries*, was general: Prince Rupert commanded the horse: Sir Jacob Astley, the foot: Sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons: Sir John Heydon, the artillery. The Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. The estate and revenue of this single troop, according to Lord Clarendon's computation, was at least equal to that of all the members, who, at the commencement of the war, voted in both houses. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters.

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WITH this army the King left Shrewsbury, resolving to give battle as soon as possible, to the army of the parliament, which he heard was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his course towards the capital, which, he knew, the enemy would not abandon to him. Essex had now received his instructions. The import of them was, to present a most humble petition to the King and to rescue him, and the royal family,

* He was then Lord Willoughby.

family, from those desperate malcontents, who had seized upon the day after the departure of the royal army, and surrounded the Marquis. The Lord already in great want of money, had been obliged to borrow the sums of each other, here either of the general was surrounded with the approach of his enemies. Shrewsbury and Worcester, the place from whence they set out, were still twenty miles distant, yet had the two armies met, and the day in this mutual ignorance. So much had military discipline, a long peace, decayed in England.

The royal army lay near Barbury: that of the parliament at Kington, in the county of Warwick. Prince Rupert, the leader of the army, that the day was far advanced, the King, resolved upon the attack: Blux drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Portefeu, who had served a time upon the Irish wars, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now poiled on the left wing, commanded by Ramfay, a Scotchman. No sooner was the King's army approach, than Portefeu, ordering his troop to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of Prince Rupert. Partly from this accident, partly from the furious flock made upon them by the Prince, that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for some miles. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Commanded from their ground by Asinnot and Sir Arthur Aston, they also took to flight. The King's body or reserve, commanded by Sir John Byron, judging, too raw soldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, with flags and loose reins followed the chase, which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Blux, who commanded Blux's reserve, perceived this advantage. He wheeled about upon the King's infantry, now quite unprovided of arms, and made great havoc among them. Hirdetey, the general, was eventually wounded, and taken prisoner. His son, endeavouring his rescue, fell like him into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the King's standard, was slain, and the standard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In the morning, when Rupert, on his return, found affairs. Everything bore the appearance of a defeat, instead of a victory, with which he had himself mastered himself. Some advised the King to leave the field: But that Prince, whose personal valour was unequalled, rejected such parliamentary counsels. The two armies remained under arms till nine o'clock, and neither of them stirred to change their position for some hours. At night they lay under arms; not venturing to stir a foot, or lives in sight of each other. General, as well as his army, on both sides, remained averie to renew the battle. Blux and Ramfay returned to Warwick. The King returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men lay

Chap. VII. said to have been found dead on the field of battle, and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Such was the event of this first battle, fought at Keinton or Edge-hill.

SOME of Essex's horse, who had been drove off the field in the beginning of the action, flying to a great distance, carried news of a total defeat, and struck a mighty terror into the city and parliament. After a few days, a more just account arrived; and then the parliament pretended to a compleat victory. The King also, on his part, was not wanting to display his advantages; tho', except the taking of Banbury, a few days after, he had few marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions, which was altogether at his devotion.

AFTER the royal army was recruited and refreshed; as the weather still continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horse having been sent from Abingdon, where were fixed the head quarters of the cavalry, they approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. Charles, hoping that every thing would yield before him, advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament; who, instead of their fond expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the prospect of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event; were farther alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance. They voted an address for a treaty. The King's nearer approach to Colebroke quickened their advances. Northumberland and Pembroke with three commonsers presented the address of both houses; in which they besought his Majesty to appoint some convenient place, where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals. The King named Windsor, and desired, that the garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

MEAN while Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the King's approaches. At Brentford, Charles attacked two regiments quartered there, and, after a sharp action, beat them from that village, and took about 500 prisoners. The parliament had sent orders to forbear all hostilities, and had expected the same compliance from the King; tho' no stipulations to that purpose had been mentioned by their commissioners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, as if it had been the most apparent perfidy, and breach of treaty. Enflamed with resentment, as well as anxious for its own defence, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Essex. The force

force of the parliamentary army now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much superior to that of the King's. After both armies had faced each other for some time, the King drew off and retired to Reading, and from thence to Oxford.

While the principal armies on both sides were engaged in action in the winter season, the King, and parliament were employed in real preparation for war, and in taking advantage towards peace. By means of contributions and contributions, levied in the home Charles maintained his cavalry : By taxes and voluntary payments, sent him from all parts of the kingdom, he supported his infantry : But the supplies were still very unequal to the necessities under which he laboured. The parliament had much greater resources for money ; and had, by consequence, every military preparation in much greater order and abundance. Besides an imposition, levied in London, amounting to the five and twentieth part of every one's habillment, they established on that city a weekly assessment of 10,000 pounds, and another of 22,000, on the rest of the kingdom. And as their authority was at present established in most countries, they levied their taxes with great regularity ; that they amounted to sums, much beyond what the nation had formerly paid to the public exchequer.

The King and parliament sent reciprocally their demands ; and a treaty commenced, but without any cessation of hostilities, as had at first been proposed. The Earl of Northumberland and four members of the lower house came to Oxford as commissioners. In this treaty, the King perpetually insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative : The parliament still required new concessions, and a further abridgement of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and calamities. Finding the King supported by more forces and a greater party, than they had ever looked for, they severely laboured to improve on their exorbitant conditions, which they had formerly claimed ; but their demands were still too great for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a temporary victory could not oblige them ; they required the King, in express terms, utterly to abolish episcopacy ; a demand, which, before, they only insinuated. And they required, that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their authority or divines ; that is, in the manner the most repugnant to the notions of the King and all his parliament. They likewise desired him to acquiesce in their interest of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the same authority of the sword. And in answer to the King's proposal, that his episcopacy, revenues, and ships, should be restored to him, the parliament required, that they should be put into such hands as they could come to. The thirteen propositions,

Chap. VII. which they formerly sent the King, shewed their *inclination* to abolish monarchy :
 1643. They only asked, at present, the *power* of doing it. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treason, by levying war against their sovereign ; it is evident, that their fears and jealousies must, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their personal safety, which they interwove with that of the nation, still more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. Tho' the gentleness and lenity of the King's temper might have ensured them against all schemes of future vengeance ; they preferred, as is, no doubt, but too natural, an independent security, accompanied too with sovereign power, before the station of subjects, and that not intirely guarded from all apprehensions of danger *.

THE conferences went no farther than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding, that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

A military enterprize, which they had concerted early in the spring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, the garrison of the King, which lay nearest London, was esteemed a place of considerable strength, in that age, when the art of attacking towns was not well understood in Europe, and was totally unknown in England. The Earl of Essex sat down before this place with an army of 18000 men ; and carried on his attack by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, Colonel Fielding succeeded to the command.

* Whitlocke, who was one of the commissioners, says, " In this treaty, the King manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him ; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of other's judgments than of his own, tho' they were weaker than his own ; and of this the parliament-commissioners had experience to their great trouble. They were often waiting on the King, and debating some points of the treaty with him, until midnight, before they could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points, they pressed his Majesty with their reasons and best arguments they could use to grant what they desired. The King said, he was fully satisfied, and promised to give them his answer in writing according to their desire ; but, because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would have it drawn up next morning (when he commanded them to wait on him again) and then he would give them his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. But next morning the King told them, that he had altered his mind : And some of his friends, of whom the commissioners inquired, told them, that after they were gone, and even his council retired, some of his bed-chamber never left pressing and perswading him, till they prevailed on him to change his former resolutions." It is difficult, however, to conceive, that any treaty could have succeeded betwixt the King and parliament, while the latter insisted, as they all along did, on a total submission to all their demands, and challenged the whole power, which they intended to employ to the punishment of all the King's friends.

15th April.

mand. In a little time, the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and, tho' the King approached, with an intention of obliging Essex to raise the siege, the disposition of the parliamentary army was so strong, as rendered that design impracticable. Hastings, therefore, was content to yield the town, on condition, that he should bring off all the garrison with the honours of war, and deliver up detesters. This last condition was thought so ignominious and so prejudicial to the King's interest, that the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to lose his life for consenting to it. His sentence was afterwards remitted by the King.

ESSEX'S army had been fully supplied with all necessaries from London. Even many superfluities and luxuries were sent them by the care of the zealous citizens: Yet the hardships, which they suffered from the siege, during so early a season, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were no longer fit for any new enterprize. And the two armies, for some time, encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, without attempting, on either side, any action or moment.

BESIDES the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the centre of England; each county, each town, each family almost, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Thro'out the winter, continual efforts had every where been made by each party to surmount its antagonist; and the English, roused from the lethargy of peace, with eager, tho' unskillful hands, employed against their fellow-citizens their long neglected weapons. The furious zeal for liberty and presbyterian discipline, which had hitherto run uncontrouled thro' the nation, now at last excited an equal ardour for monarchy and episcopacy; when the intention of abolishing these ancient modes of government was openly avowed by the parliament. Conventions for neutrality, tho', in several counties, they had been entered into, and confirmed by the most solemn oaths, yet being voted illegal by the two houses, were immediately broke; and the fire of discord was spread into every corner. The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indisposed the minds of men towards each other, and propagated the blind rage of party. Fierce, however, and enflamed as were the dispositions of the English, by a war, both civil and religious, that great destroyer of humanity; all the events of this period are less distinguished by atrocious deeds, either of treachery or cruelty, than were ever any intestine discords, which had so long continued. A circumstance, which will be found to imply great praise of the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.

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In the north, the Lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the Earl of Newcastle for the King. This last Nobleman began those associations, which were afterwards so much practised in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the King the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric, and engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Finding that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham and the garrison of Hull, was making progress in the southern parts of Yorkshire; he advanced with a body of four thousand men and took possession of York. At Tadcaster, he attacked the forces of the parliament and dislodged them: But his victory was not decisive. In other rencounters he obtained some inconsiderable advantages. But the chief benefit, which resulted from his enterprizes, was the establishing the King's authority in all the northern provinces.

In another part of the kingdom, the Lord Brooke was killed by a shot, while he was taking possession of Litchfield for the parliament. After a sharp combat, near Stafford, between the Earl of Northampton and Sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the King's forces, was killed while he fought with extreme valour; and his forces, discouraged by his death, tho' they had obtained the advantage in the action, retreated into the town of Stafford.

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterprising; he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war; which being managed by raw troops, conducted by unexperienced commanders, afforded success to every bold and sudden undertaking. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he advanced towards Gloucester, which was in a manner blockaded by Lord Herbert, who had levied considerable forces in Wales for the royal party. While he attacked the Welch on one side, a sally from Gloucester made impression on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and he himself escaped with some difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, esteemed a strong town, defended by a considerable garrison, was surrendered to Waller, from the cowardice of Colonel Price the governor. Teueksbury underwent the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; and Waller, without placing any garrisons in his new conquests, retired to Gloucester, and from thence to Essex's army.

Victories of
the parliament
in the west.

But the most memorable actions of valour, during this winter-season, were performed in the west. When Sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troop, retired into Cornwall before the Earl of Bedford, that Nobleman, despising so inconsiderable a force, abandoned the pursuit, and committed the suppression of the royal party to the squire of the county. But the affections of Cornwall were much inclined

clined

joined to the King's service. While Sir Richard Bellingham, the Earl of Cornwall's captain, lay at Launceston, and employed his troops in executing the laws, the parliament, in the name of the nation, a meeting of the country was summoned to Exeter. Sir Ralph Hopton produced his commission from the Earl of Hereford, the King's general, it was agreed to excuse the laws, and to exclude the soldiers of the county. The trained bands were accordingly levied, Launceston taken, and Earl Cornwall reduced to peace and to obedience unto the King.

It had been usual for the royal party, on the continuement of their disorders, to claim, on all occasions, the strict execution of the laws, which, they knew, were favourable to them; and the parliament, rather than have recourse to the plea of necessity, and avow the transgression of any statute, had also been accustomed to warp the laws, and by forced constructions to interpret them in their own favour. But tho' the King was naturally the gainer by such a method of conducting war, and it was by favour of law, that the trained bands were raised in Cornwall; it appeared that these maxims were now prejudicial to the royal party. These troops could not legally, without their own consent, be carried out of the county; and consequently, it was impossible to push into Devonshire the advantage, which they had obtained. The Cornish royalists, therefore, bethought themselves of levying a force, which might be more serviceable. Besides Sir Ralph Hopton; Sir Bevil Granville, the most beloved man of that country, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raise an army for the King; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. The parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royalists, gave a commission to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with the whole forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and make an intire conquest of Cornwall. The Earl of Stamford followed him, at some distance, with a considerable supply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, hastened to an action; lest Stamford should join him and obtain the honour of that victory, which he looked for with assurance. The royalists, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a decision, before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought at Bradoc-down; and the King's forces, tho' inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven with a few broken troops fled to Salakh; and when that town was taken, he escaped, with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. Stamford retired, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

NOTWITHSTANDING these advantages, the extreme want both of money and ammunition, under which the royalists laboured, obliged them to enter

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Battle of
Stratton.

16th of May.

into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire; and this neutrality held all the winter-season. In the spring it was broken by the authority of the two houses; and war re-commenced with great appearance of disadvantage to the King's party. Stamford, having assembled a strong body of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every species of necessity. Despair, joined to the natural gallantry of these troops, commanded by the prime gentry of the county, made them resolve, by one vigorous effort, to overcome all these disadvantages. Stamford being encamped on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning, having lain all night under arms. One division was commanded by Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Bassett and Godolphin. In this manner the action begun; the King's forces pressing with the utmost vigour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies as obstinately defending themselves. The fight continued with very doubtful success, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the soldiers, they resolved to supply by their valour. They agreed to advance without firing till they should reach the top of the hill, and could be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began, on all sides, to gain ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliament-army, (for Stamford kept at a distance) failed not in his duty; and when he saw his men recoil, himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered with numbers and taken prisoner. His army, upon this disaster, gave ground apace; insomuch that the four parties of the royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended, at last all met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations.

Battle of
Lansdown.
5th of July.

AFTER this success, the attention of both King and parliament was turned towards the west, as to a very important scene of action. The King sent the Marquess of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with a reinforcement of cavalry; who having joined the Cornish army, soon over-ran the county of Devon; and advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament having supplied Sir William Waller, in whom they much trusted, with a complete army, dispatched him westwards, in order to check the progress of the royalists. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath,

and

and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder, was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march eastwards and to join their forces to the King's at Oxford: But Waller hung on their rear, and infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flowed to him from all quarters; he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer prosecute their march or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved that Hertford and Prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the King, should hasten back to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by their friends, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that, by the next post, he would inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the King, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of horse, which he immediately dispatched under the command of Lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his horse to fight Wilmot and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infantry, was received with equal valour by the royalists. After a sharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot seizing the enemies cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and dispersed the whole army.

This important victory, following so quick after many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their principal army, commanded by Essex. Waller exclaimed loudly against that general, for allowing Wilmot to pass him, and proceed without any interruption to the succour of the distressed infantry at the Devizes. But Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and the weakness of the King, and the want of all military stores, had also restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish, which, of itself, was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable by the death alone of the famous Hamden.

Colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who served in the parliament's army, having received some disgust, came to Oxford, and offered his service to the King. In order to prove the sincerity of his conversion, he informed Prince Rupert of

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Roundway-down.

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the loose disposition of the enemies quarters, and exhorted him to form some attempt upon them. The Prince, who was intirely fitted for that kind of service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the Prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the disgrace, which the army had suffered. Among the rest, Hambden, who had a regiment of infantry, that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer; and overtaking the royalists on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the King's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was the expectation, that some disaster had happened to Hambden, their capital and much dreaded enemy. One of the prisoners taken in the action, said, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt: For he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field, before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived, that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after, he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation. The King himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he offered to send his own surgeon to assist at his cure*.

Death of
Hambden.

MANY were the virtues and talents of this eminent personage; and his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre, equal to that of all the other accomplishments, by which he had ever been so much distinguished. Affability in conversation; temper, art, and eloquence in debate; penetration and discernment in council; industry, vigilance, and enterprize in action; all these praises, are unanimously ascribed to him by historians of the most opposite parties. His virtue too and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception: We must only be cautious, notwithstanding his generous zeal for liberty, not hastily to ascribe to him the praises of a good citizen. Thro' all the horrors of civil war, he sought the abolition of monarchy and subversion of the constitution; an end, which, had it been attainable by peaceful measures, ought carefully to have been avoided, by every lover of his country. But whether, in the pursuit of this violent enterprize, he was actuated by private ambition, or by honest prejudices, derived from former abuses of royal authority, it belongs

* Warwic's Memoirs.

Essex, discouraged by this event, attended by the rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the Queen, who had landed in Burlington bay, was advanced to Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. From Thame and Aylsbury, where he had hitherto lain, he thought proper to retreat nearer London, and he showed to his friends his broken and disheartened forces, which a few months before, he had led to the field in so flourishing a condition. The King, freed from this enemy, sent his army westward under Prince Rupert; and by conjunction with the Cornish troops, a very formidable force, for numbers, as well as reputation and valour, was composed. That an enterprize, correspondent to men's expectations, might be undertaken, the Prince resolved to lay siege to Bristol, the second town for riches and greatness in the kingdom. Samuel Pym, son to Lord Say, himself, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader, was governor, and

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and commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and two regiments, one of horse, another of dragoons. The fortifications not being compleat or regular, it was resolv'd by Rupert to storm the city; and next morning, with little other provisions, suitable to such a work, besides the courage of the troops, the assault began. The Cornish, in three divisions, attacked the west side, with a resolution, which nothing but death could controul: But tho' the middle division had already mounted the wall, so great was the disadvantage of the ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that in the end the assailants were repulsed, with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the Prince's side, the assault was conducted with equal courage, and almost with equal loss, but with better success. One party, led by lord Grandison, was beat off, and the commander himself mortally wounded: Another, conducted by Colonel Bellasis, met with a like fate: But Washington with a less party, finding a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. By this irruption however, nothing but the suburbs was yet gained: The entrance into the town was still more difficult: And by the loss already sustained, as well as by the prospect of farther danger, every one was extremely discouraged: When to the great joy of the whole army, the city beat a parley. The garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. For this instance of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head; but the sentence was remitted by the general.

Bristol taken.
25th of July.

GREAT complaints were made of violences, exercised on the garrison, contrary to the capitulation. An apology was made, by the royalists, as if these were a retaliation for some violences, committed on their friends at the surrender of Reading. And under pretence of like retaliations, but really from the extreme animosity of the parties, were such irregularities continued during the whole course of the war.

THE loss, sustained by the royalists in the assault of Bristol, was considerable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished. Among those of condition were Grandison, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle: Bellasis, Ashley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded: Yet was the success, upon the whole, so considerable as mightily elated the courage of the one party, and depressed that of the other. The King, to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aspired to a total victory over the parliament, published a manifesto, in which he renewed the protestation formerly taken, with great solemnity, at the head of his army, and expressed his firm intention of making peace upon the re-establishment of the constitution. Having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent Prince Maurice with a detachment in-

to Devonshire, he deliberated how to employ the remainder of his army in an enterprize of importance. Some proposed, and seemingly with great reason, to march directly to London; where every thing was in great confusion, while the army was baffled, weakened and divided; and where, it was feared, either by an insurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a peace might be put to the civil dissensions. But this undertaking, by reason of the great number and force of the London militia, was thought by many to be attended with still too great difficulties. *MS. A. 9. 2. 12.* Ignoring in twenty miles, presented an easier, and put a very small risk upon it. It was the only remaining variation proposed by the parliament in these parts. Could that city be reduced to the King, and the whole country of the Severn under his command; the now almost content counties of the west, having lost all protection from their militia, might be enforced to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication could be preserved between Wales and their new conquerors; and half of the kingdom, being entirely freed from the enemy, and thus united into one firmly body, might be employed in re-establishing the King's authority throughout the remainder. These were the reasons for embracing that resolution; fatal, as it was ever elected, to the royal party.

THE governor of Gloucester was one Maffey, a foldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his service to the King; and, as he was free from the tones of enthusiasm, by which most of the officers on that side were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was presumed, to proposals for accommodation. But Maffey was resolved to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters; and tho' no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit, so prevalent in his city and garrison. The summons to surrender allowed two hours for an answer: But before that time expired, there appeared before the King two citizens, with bare pale, sharp, and dismal visages: pale, so strange and on youth, as even the most hardy veterans, to habited and stout red; and once moved the most free and generous to wrath, and the most cheerful hearts to sadness: It seemed impossible that such ambassadors could bring forth a defiance. The news, without any countenance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, and straggling accent, told, that they brought an answer from the golly city of Gloucester: And earnestly besought they, according to the historian, to give intelligence and relations respecting any questions; as their business was chiefly, by proving the execution of their own violate liberty and conduct. The answer from the city was read aloud by the Mayor, Aldermen, and magistrates, officers and soldiers, with a loud flourish of drums, and to his Majesty's gracious message, read this humble answer: That whereas the King's Majesty's army, by the aid of the Lord General Fairfax, had kept

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“ keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty and his royal posterity: And do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty signified by both houses of parliament: And are resolved by God’s help to keep this city accordingly.” After these preliminaries, the siege was resolutely undertaken by the army, and as resolutely sustained by the garrison.

When intelligence of the siege of Gloucester arrived in London, the consternation, among the inhabitants, was as great, as if the enemy were already at their gates. The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the parliament with a sudden conquest: The factions and discontents, among themselves, in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. Those parliamentary leaders, it must be owned, who had introduced such mighty innovations into the English constitution, and who had projected so much greater, had not engaged in an enterprize, which exceeded their courage and capacity. Great vigour, from the beginning, as well as wisdom, they had displayed in all their councils; and a furious, head-strong body, broke loose from the restraint of law, had hitherto been retained in subjection under their authority, and firmly united by zeal and passion, as by the most legal and established government. A small committee, on whom the two houses devolved their power, had directed all their councils, and had preserved a secrecy in deliberation, and a promptitude in execution, beyond what the King, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by a single leader, had ever been able to attain. Sensible that no jealousy was by their partizans entertained against them, they had, on all occasions, exerted an authority much more despotic, than the royalists, even during the pressing exigencies of war, could with patience endure in their sovereign. Whoever incurred their displeasure, or was exposed to their suspicion, was committed to prison, and prosecuted under the notion of delinquency: After all the old jails were full, many new ones were created; and even the ships were crowded with the royalists, both gentry and clergy, who languished below decks, and perished in those unhealthy confinements: They imposed taxes, the heaviest, and of the most unusual nature, by an ordinance of the two houses: They voted a commission for sequestration; and they seized, where-ever they had power, the revenues of all the King’s party*: And knowing, that themselves and all their constituents, were, by refusing the prince, exposed to the penalties of law, they resolved, with a severe administration, to overcome these terrors, and retain the people in obedience, by penalties of a more immediate execution. In the beginning

* The Royalists were expelled from all the temples; but as the largest part of the nobility and landed gentry were in London, he could not march his party from the palace.

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ferted him; and he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, without regard to the confidence reposed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, he counterfeited such remorse of conscience, that his execution was put off, out of mere christian-compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information, than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as of flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly council. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cant and faction, small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

THE severity, exercised against the conspiracy or rather project of Waller, increased the authority of the parliament, and seemed to ensure them against like attempts for the future. But, by the progress of the King's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the taking of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, a cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpose, flocked about the house, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were given for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deserted the parliament, and had gone to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace had followed them: Northumberland had retired to his country-seat: Essex himself showed extreme dissatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper house sent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been insisted on. It even passed by a majority among the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the King. The violent zealots took the alarm. A petition against peace was framed in the city and presented by Pennington, the factious mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all the former menaces against the moderate party*. The pulpits thundered, and rumours were spread of twenty thousand Irish, who had landed, and were to cut the throats of every protestant. The majority was again turned to the other side; and all thoughts of pacification being dismissed, every preparation was made for resistance, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester, on which, the parliament were sensible, all their hopes of success in the war did so much depend.

MASSEY,

* Clarendon, Hollis, &c.

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First chief difficulty still remained. Essex dreaded a battle with the King's army, on account of their great superiority of horse; and he resolved to return, if possible, without running that hazard. He lay five days at Teukebury, which was his first stage, and feigned by some preparations, to point towards Worcester. By a forced march, during the night, he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage, of passing unmolested an open country, and of surprizing a convoy of provisions, which lay in that town. Without delay, he proceeded towards London; but, when he reached Newbury, he was surprized to find, that the King, by hasty marches, had arrived before him, and was already possessed of that place.

20th Sept.
Battle of
Newbury.

An action was now unavoidable; and Essex prepared for it with presence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both sides the battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery. Essex's horse were several times broke by the King's, but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and, besides giving a continued fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious impulse of Prince Rupert and those gallant troops of gentry, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. The London militia especially, tho' utterly unacquainted with action, tho' drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet, having exactly learned all military exercises, and being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cause, in which they were engaged, equalled, on this occasion, what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the event undecided. Next morning, Essex proceeded on his march; and tho' his rear was once put into some disorder by an incursion of the King's horse, he reached London in safety, and received deserved applause for his conduct and success in the whole enterprize. The King followed him on his march, and having taken possession of Reading, after the Earl left it, he there established a garrison; and straitened, by that means, London and the quarters of the enemy.

In the battle of Newbury, on the part of the King, besides the Earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two Noblemen of promising hopes; was unfortunately slain, to the great regret of every lover of ingenuity and virtue throughout the kingdom, Lucius Cary, Lord Viscount Falkland, secretary of state. Before assembling the present parliament, this man, devoted to the pursuits of learning, and to the society of all the polite and elegant, had enjoyed himself in every pleasure, which a fine genius, a generous disposition, and an opulent fortune could afford. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the exorbitant prerogative of the crown; and displayed that masculine eloquence,

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partly from a jealousy of Lord Fairfax, partly from a repentance of their engagements against the King, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being discovered, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the parliament.

NEWCASTLE, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison *, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwel and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn-Castle; where the two officers last mentioned gained great renown for their conduct and gallantry. And tho' fortune had thus ballanced her favours, the King's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces, with the army in the south, had probably enabled the King, instead of entering on the unfortunate, perhaps imprudent, enterprize of Gloucester, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war.

WHILE the military enterprizes were carried on with vigor in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eyes towards the neighbouring kingdoms, and sought assistance for the finishing that enterprize, in which their own forces experienced such furious opposition. The parliament had recourse to Scotland; the King, to Ireland.

WHEN the Scotch covenanters obtained that end for which they so earnestly longed, the establishment of presbyterian discipline in their own country, they were not satisfied, but indulged still an ardent passion for propagating, by all methods, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Having flattered themselves, in the fervor of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistances, they would be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, it behoved them first to render it prevalent in England, which already showed so great a disposition to receive it. Even in the articles of pacification, they expressed a desire of uniformity in worship with England; and the King, employing general expressions, had approved of this inclination, as pious and laudable. No sooner was there any appearance of a rupture, than the English parliament, in order to allure that nation into a close confederacy, openly declared their wishes of ecclesiastical reformation, and of imitating the example of their northern

* 12th of October.

northern brethren. When war was actually commenced, the same articles were used; and the Scotch beheld, with the utmost impatience, a scene of action of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. Should the King, they said, be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the parliament of England, and re-establish his authority in that powerful kingdom, he will undoubtedly retract all those concessions, which, with so many circumstances of violence and indignity, the Scotch have extorted from him. Besides a sense of his own interest and a regard to royal power, which has been entirely annihilated in this country; his very passion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies need lead him to invade a church, which he has ever been taught to regard as a rebellion and unlawful. Let us but consider who the persons are that compose the factions now so furiously engaged in arms. Does not the parliament consist of those very men, who have ever opposed all war with Scotland, who have punished the authors of our oppressions, who have obtained us the redress of every grievance, and who, with many honourable expressions, have conferred on us a ample reward for our brotherly assistance? And is not the court full of papists, prelates, malignants; all of them zealous enemies to our religious model, and ready to sacrifice their lives for their idolatrous establishments? Not to mention our own necessary security; can we better express our gratitude to heaven for this pure light, with which we are, above all nations, so eminently distinguished, than by conveying the same divine knowledge to our unhappy neighbours, who are wading thro' a sea of blood in order to attain it? These were in Scotland the topics of every conversation: With these doctrines the pulpits echoed: And the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and re-iterated, against neutrality and moderation, resounded from all quarters*.

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conscience, as well as his interest, he believed to be intimately concerned in supporting prelacy and the liturgy. He begged the commissioners, therefore, to remain satisfied with the concessions which he had made to Scotland; and having modeled their own church according to their own principles, to leave their neighbours in the like liberty, and not to intermeddle with affairs, of which they could not be supposed competent judges.

THE divines of Oxford, secure, as they imagined, of a victory, by means of their authorities from church history, their citations from the fathers, and their spiritual arguments, desired a conference with Henderson, and undertook, by dint of reasoning, to convert that great apostle of the north: But Henderson, who had ever regarded as impious the least doubt with regard to his own principles, and who knew of a much better way to reduce opponents than the employing any theological topics, absolutely refused all disputation or controversy. The English divines went away, full of admiration at the blind assurance and bigotted prejudices of the man: He, on his part, was moved with equal wonder at their obstinate attachment to such gross errors and delusions.

By the concessions which the King had granted to Scotland, it became necessary for him to summon a parliament once in three years; and in June of the subsequent year, was fixed the period for the meeting of that assembly. Before that time elapsed, Charles flattered himself, that, by some decisive advantage, he should be able to reduce the English parliament to a reasonable submission, and might then expect with security the meeting of a Scotch parliament. Tho' earnestly solicited by Loudon to summon presently that great council of the nation, he absolutely refused to give authority to men, who had already excited such dangerous commotions, and who showed still the same disposition to resist and invade his authority. The commissioners, therefore, not being able to prevail in any of their demands, desired the King's passport for London, where they proposed to confer with the English parliament; and being likewise denied this request, they returned with extreme dissatisfaction to Edinburgh.

THE office of conservators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms; and these, instigated by the clergy, were resolved, since they could not obtain the King's consent, to summon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of estates; and to bereave their sovereign of this article, the only one which remained of his prerogative. Under colour of providing for national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies, was a convention called*; an assembly, which, tho' it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a par-

* Held at Glasgow.

parliament, in raising money, and levying taxes, and in giving the Earl of Lancaster, who had been made prisoner, and detained in prison, measures, wanted either a majority of the commons, or a majority of the commons. The general assembly of the church in Scotland, with the consent, and exercising an authority, somewhat different from that of the commons, in every political consideration, put the church in a state of independence.

The English parliament were, at that time, in the most great distress, by the progress of the King's arms; and they applied to the Scots commissioners, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scotch nation. The persons employed were the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Harcher and Henry Dudley, attended with Maribhal and Nye, two clergymen of signal authority. In this negotiation, the man chiefly trusted to was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was formed an Edinburgh that solemn league and covenant; which effaced all the former protestations and vows, taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority. This covenant, beside engaging to mutual defence against all opponents, bound the subscribers to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.

The subscribers to the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but by the artifice of Vane no declaration more explicate was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that the kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God and the example of the purest churches. The Scotch zealots, when prelacy was abjured, deemed this expression quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description: But that able politician had other views; and while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity, he had blindly devoted himself to the maintenance of systems, still more absurd and more dangerous.

In the English parliament there remained some members, who, tho' they had been induced, either by private ambition or by zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy and to the ancient modes of worship. But in the present danger, which threatened their cause, all tempers were removed; and the covenant, by whole means alone, they could

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expect to obtain so considerable a re-inforcement, as the accession of the whole Scotch nation, was received without opposition. The parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority.

GREAT were the rejoicings among the Scotch, that they should be the happy instruments of extending their mode of religion, and dissipating that profound darkness in which their neighbouring nations were involved. The general assembly applauded this glorious imitation of the piety displayed by their ancestors, who, they said, by three different applications, during the reign of Elizabeth, had endeavoured to engage the English, by persuasion, to lay aside the use of the surplice, tippet, and corner cap. The convention too, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiscation, beside what farther punishment it should please the ensuing parliament to inflict on the refusers, as enemies to God, to the king, and to the kingdom. And being determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great vigilance and activity, for their military enterprises. By means of a hundred thousand pounds, which they received from England; by the hopes of good pay and warm quarters; not to mention men's favourable disposition towards the cause; they soon compleated their levies. And having added the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the Earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men.

Arming of
the Scotch.

THE King, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient; and he cast his eyes towards Ireland, in hopes, that that kingdom, from which his cause had already received so much prejudice, might, at last, contribute somewhat towards his protection and security.

AFTER the commencement of the Irish insurrection, the English parliament, tho' they undertook the suppression of it, had ever been too much engaged, either in military projects or expeditions at home, to take any effectual step towards the finishing that enterprise. They had entered indeed into a contract with the Scotch, for sending over an army of ten thousand men into Ireland; and in order to engage that nation into such an undertaking, beside the promise of pay, they agreed to put Caric-Fergus into their hands, and to invest their general with an authority quite independent of the English government. These troops, so long as they were allowed to remain, were useful, by diverting the force of the Irish rebels, and protecting in the north the small remnants of the British planters.

State of
Ireland.

But except this contest with the Scotch nation, all the other measures of the parliament were directed to crush absolutely independent, or semi-independent, provinces of the great state, as in Ireland. By continuing their military operations, and by more numerous menaces against priests and popes, they increased the Irish nation's obstinate in their rebellion, and effected a more complete severance of the nation. By disposing before hand of all the Irish nobles, as to the powers of administration, they rendered all men of property dependent, and thus, to threaten a total extermination of the natives. And while they thus increased dissent and animosity into the enemy, no measure was pursued which could tend to support or encourage the protestants, now reduced to the last extremity.

So great is the ascendancy, which, from a long course of success, the British has acquired over the Irish nation, that tho' the latter, when they receive military discipline amongst foreigners, are not surpassed by any others, they have never, in their own country, been able to make any vigorous effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. In many rencounters with the English, under Lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and other British, with great disadvantage of situation and numbers, put the Irish to rout, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raised the siege of Trelish, after an obstinate defence made by the garrison. Ormond had obtained two complete victories, at Kiltrush and Rols; and had brought relief to all the forts, which were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But notwithstanding all these successes, even the most common necessities of life were wanting to the victorious armies. The Irish, in their wild rage against the British planters, had laid waste the whole kingdom, and were themselves totally unfit, from their barbarous sloth and ignorance, to take any course, or set of human life. During the course of six months, no supplies had come in from the country except the small part of one small vessel's loading. Dublin, to have more than half its provisions, was obliged to send the greater part of its necessaries to England. The army had little ammunition, scarce exceeding six weeks' supply, and not even shoes or cloaths; and for want of victuals, the soldiers had been obliged to eat their own horses. And tho' the distresses of the Irish were now exceeding, yet they were more slow to feel them, than the English were to feel theirs. They expected, that the time would come, when they could not but be able to overcome, and would demolish that tyrannical power, which might serve to the ruin of the independence of both.

The Irish, on the 12th of April, 1649, were surprised, when they were in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, by a small detachment of the English, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, who were sent to discover the situation of the army.

Chap. VII. 1613. fire party, had been removed; and Charles had supplied their place by others better affected to his service. A committee of the English house of commons, which had been sent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council, in obedience to orders transmitted from the King. And these were reasons sufficient, besides the great difficulties under which they themselves laboured, why the parliament were unwilling to send supplies to an army, which, tho' engaged in a cause they much favoured, was entirely governed by their declared enemies.

THE King, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor provisions to spare from his own urgent wants, resolved to embrace an expedient, which might, at once, relieve the necessities of the Irish protestants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. A cessation with the rebels, he thought, would enable his subjects in Ireland to provide for their own support, and procure him the assistance of the army against the English parliament. But as a treaty with a people, so odious for their religion and their barbarities, might be represented in very invidious colours, and renew all those calumnies with which he had been loaded; it was necessary to proceed with great caution in conducting that measure. A remonstrance from the army was made to the Irish council, representing their intolerable necessities, and craving permission to leave the kingdom: And if that was refused, *We must have recourse, they said, to that first and primary law, with which God has endowed all men; we mean the law of nature, which teaches every creature to preserve itself.* Memorials both to the King and parliament were transmitted by the justices and council, in which their wants and dangers are strongly set forth; and tho' the general expressions in these memorials might perhaps be suspected of exaggeration, yet, from the particular facts mentioned, from the confession of the English parliament, and from the very nature of things, it is apparent, that the Irish protestants were reduced to great extremities*; and it became prudent in the King, if not absolutely necessary, to embrace some expedient, which might secure them, for a time, from the ruin and misery with which they were threatened.

ACCORDINGLY, the King gave orders † to Ormond and the justices to conclude, for a year, a cessation with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Irish were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of their present advantages. The
parliament,

* See farther Carte's Ormond, Vol. iii. No. 113, 127, 128, 129, 134, 136, 141, 144, 149, 158, 159. All these papers put it past doubt, that the necessities of the English army in Ireland were extreme.

† 2d of September.

parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and who would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the King with his favour to the Irish papists, exclaimed loudly against this cessation. Among other reasons, they insisted upon the divine vengeance, which England might justly dread for tolerating antichristian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political agreements. Religion, tho' every day employed as the engine of their ambitious purposes, was supposed too sacred to be yielded up to the temporal interests or safety of kingdoms.

AFTER the cessation, there was little necessity, as well as no means, of subsisting the army in Ireland. The King ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. Most of them continued in his service: But a small part of them, having imbibed in Ireland a high animosity against the catholics, and hearing the King's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament.

SOME Irish catholics came over with these troops, and joined the King's army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders, to which they had been accustomed. The parliament voted, that no quarter, in any action, should ever be granted them: But Prince Rupert, by using some reprisals, soon repressed this inhumanity.

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*Invitation of the Scotch.—Battle of Marston-moor.—Battle of Crepreddy-
bridge.—Effex's forces disarmed.—Second battle of Newbury.—
Life and character of the independents.—Self-denying ordinance.—
The tax, Cromwell.—Treaty of Uxbridge.—Execution of Laud.—*

THE King had hitherto, during the course of the war, obtained many advantages over the parliament, and had raised himself from that low condition, into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were possessed by the Marquis of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was master of no garrison in these quarters. In the west, Plymouth alone, having been in vain besieged by Prince Maurice, resisted the King's authority: And had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprise of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had

Chap. VIII. reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and
 1644. had occupied a greater extent of ground, than those of the parliament. Many of the royalists flattered themselves, that the same vigorous spirit, which had elevated them to the present height of power, would still favour their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their antagonists: But those who judged more soundly, observed, that, besides the accession of the whole Scotch nation to the side of the parliament; the very principle, on which the royal successes were founded, was every day acquired, more and more, by the opposite party. The King's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valour superior to their enemies, and had hitherto been successful in almost every rencounter: But in proportion as the whole nation became warlike, by the continuance of civil discords, this advantage was more equally shared, and superior numbers, it was expected, must at last obtain the victory. The King's troops also, ill paid, and destitute of every necessary, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline with the parliamentary forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unexhausted stores and treasures. The severity of manners, so much affected by these zealous religionists, assisted their military institutions; and the rigid inflexibility of character, by which the austere reformers of church and state were distinguished, enabled the parliamentary chiefs to restrain their soldiers within stricter rules and more exact order. And while the King's officers indulged themselves even in greater licences, than those to which, during times of peace, they had been accustomed, they were apt, both to neglect their duty, and to set a pernicious example of disorder, to the soldiers under their command.

At the commencement of the civil wars, all Englishmen, who served abroad, were invited over, and treated with extraordinary respect: And most of them, being descended of good families, and by reason of their absence, unacquainted with the new principles, which depressed the dignity of the crown, had enlisted under the royal standard. But it is observable, that tho' the military profession requires great genius, and long experience, in the principal commanders, all its subordinate duties may be discharged by very ordinary talents, and from superficial practice. Citizens and country-gentlemen soon became excellent officers; and the generals of greatest fame and capacity happened, all of them, to spring up on the side of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the subordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular established government, was confined to the station, in which his birth had placed him.

THE King, that he might make preparation, during the winter, for a conquering campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either house, who adhered to his interest; and endeavored to avail himself of the name of parliament, to pacificately subvert the English nation. The number of peers was particularly increased besides the nobility, employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as voted at Westminster. The house of commons consisted of about 140; which amounted not to an over-balance of the other state of commons.

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *taxe* was unknown to them; and among the other evils arising from these domestic wars, was the introduction of that important England. The parliament at Westminster having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities; those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the King. And in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the sum of 100,000 pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the subject. The King circulated party deals, exact signed by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums, from such persons as lived within his quarters. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures.

This Westminster parliament passed a whimsical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a-week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. 'Tis easily imagined, that, provided the money was paid, they troubled themselves very little about the execution of their ordinance.

Such was the King's situation, that, in order to restore peace to the nation, he had no occasion to demand any other terms, than to restore the laws and constitution, to replace him in the same rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predecessors, and to re-establish, on its antient basis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical. And that he might facilitate an end, seemingly so desirable, he offered to employ means equally popular, an universal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to render conscience. Nothing therefore could contribute more to his interest, than every disposition of peace, and every dissolution of the confusions, upon which that blessing could be obtained. And for this reason, on all occasions, he fostered a treaty, and could a come once and mutual examination of pretensions, when which he maintained no hopes, that any conclusion could possibly result from it.

Both the factions, the parliament which was divided as much as they could, all advances towards negotiation, and were extremely desirous to expedite the treaty.

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sure those high terms, which their apprehensions or their ambition made them previously demand of the King. Tho' their partizans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretensions to the test, or lay them open before the whole nation. In opposition to the sacred authority of the laws, to the venerable precedents of many ages, they were ashamed to plead nothing but fears and jealousies, which were not avowed by the constitution, and to which, neither the personal character of Charles, so full of virtue, nor his condition, so deprived of all independent authority, seemed to afford any reasonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redressed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely abandoned; it seemed unpopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any farther to insist on.

THE King, that he might abate the universal veneration, paid to the name of parliament, had issued a declaration, where he set forth all the tumults, by which himself and his partizans in both houses, had been driven from London; and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was restored, was intitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contrivance seemed requisite, in order to elude it.

A letter was wrote to the Earl of Essex, and subscribed by the Prince, the Duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They there exhort him to be an instrument for restoring peace, and to promote that happy end with those, by whom he was employed. Essex, tho' much disgusted with the parliament, tho' apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, tho' desirous of any reasonable peace; yet was still more resolute to preserve an honourable fidelity to the trust reposed in him. He replied, that as the paper sent him, neither contained any address to the two houses of parliament, nor any acknowledgment of their authority, he could not communicate it to them. Like proposals were reiterated by the King, during the ensuing campaign, and met still with a like answer from Essex.

IN order to make another trial for a treaty, the King, this spring, sent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster: But as he also mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, and declared that his scope and intention was to make provision that all the members of both houses might securely meet in a full and free convention; the parliament, clearly perceiving the conclusion which was implied, refused all treaty upon such terms. And the King, who knew what small hopes there were of accommodation,

commodation, would not abandon the parliament, which he had assisted, and would acknowledge the two houses, in a speech, for a new parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man universally loved by the one party, as respected by the other. At London, he was considered as the victim of national liberty, who had abridged his life by his exertions for the interests of his country: At Oxford, he was believed to have been struck down in an agonizing state, and to have been confounded with vermin; a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been a little rude, in improving his private fortune in those civil wars, of which he had been one principal instrument, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, out of gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted. We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigor in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season.

Three forces, brought from Ireland, were landed at Merion in North Wales, and being put under the command of Lord Byron, they took the castles of Harwarden, Becclyn, Acton, and Dedington towers. No place in Cheshire or the rich neighbourhood, now adhered to the parliament, except Nantwich: And to this town Byron laid siege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at so considerable a progress, assembled an army of 2000 men in Yorkshire, and having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the royalists. Byron and his foldiers, elated with successes obtained in Ireland, entertained the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces; a disposition, which, if confined to the army, may be regarded as a good preface of victory; but if it extend to the general, is the most probable precursor of a defeat. Fairfax suddenly attacked the camp of the royalists. The swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part exposed to Fairfax, being beat from their post, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken prisoners: The other retreated with precipitation. And thus was almost all or removed under that body of force, which had been drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in those north-west counties of England.

The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Scotch, having taken on them the town of Newcastle, Scotland, was terrified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Clavermus, pulled the Tyrone, and Lord the Marquess of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14000 men. After some military operations, in which that general reduced the enemy

Chap. VIII. to difficulties for forrage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster, which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire, with his victorious forces. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, in which the army of the royalists had shut themselves up. But as the Scotch and parliamentary forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves to incommode it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies.

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DURING this winter and spring, other parts of the kingdom had also been harassed with war. Hopton, having assembled an army of 14000 men, endeavoured to break into Sussex, Kent, and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat * of considerable importance. In another part, siege being laid to Newark by the parliamentary forces, Rupert prepared himself for relieving a town of such consequence, which alone preserved the communication open between the King's southern and northern quarters. With a small force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke thro' the enemy, relieved the town, and totally dissipated that army of the parliament †.

BUT tho' fortune seemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the King found himself, in the main, a considerable loser by this winter-campaign; and he prognosticated a still worse event from the ensuing summer. The preparations of the parliament were great, and much exceeded the slender resources, of which he was possessed. In the eastern association, they levied 14000 men, under the Earl of Manchester, seconded by Cromwel. An army of ten thousand men under Essex; another of nearly the same force under Waller, were assembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was destined to oppose the King: The latter was appointed to march into the west, where Prince Maurice, with a small army which went continually to decay, was spending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconsiderable town upon the sea-coast. The utmost efforts of the King could not raise above ten thousand men at Oxford; and on their sword chiefly, during the campaign, were these to depend for subsistence.

THE Queen, terrified with the dangers, which every way environed her, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where she hoped to be delivered unmolested of the child, of which she was now pregnant,

* 29th of March.

† 1st of March.

CH. VIII. 1644. diffension, which had taken place among them. The Prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, pretending a positive order from the King, without deigning to consult with Newcastle, whose great merit and services deserved better treatment, immediately gave order for battle, and drew out the whole army to Marston-moor. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies, which were engaged during the whole course of these wars; nor were the forces on each side much different in their number. Fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwel*, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a sharp combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and the infantry, who stood next them, were likewise borne down, and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order, in which they had at first been ranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, with some troops, broke thro' the royalists; and, transported by the fury of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, engaged also in pursuit of the enemy. But after that tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, restoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwel, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory, which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged, and each army occupied the ground, which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate at the first: But after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly inclined to the side of the parliament. The Prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army pushed off the field of battle.

This event was, in itself, a mighty blow to the King; but proved much more fatal in its consequences. The Marquess of Newcastle was intirely lost to the royal cause. That Nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, into these military

* Russ. part 3. vol. ii. p. 633.

military operations, assisted by a strong body of horse, and a perfect knowledge of the country. The success of our army was owing to his valour; but it was owing to his equity, that he had the unanimous consent, and presence in his ranks, of a party who, though in the army, were not of his behaviour; he was generous to the victors, as he was kind and courteous to the vanquished. He was a consummate master of all the tactics known to the art of war, in which he was a scholar, and not a champion of party; and he was always ready to learn from those who were his superiors. He found Sir William Brouncker, an inveterate party, but an excellent general: The army was so well disposed, that, in the first action, which was the battle of Marston, they equalled for the battle, which they undertook: And the fertility and application, requisite to the support of a vigilance, were qualities in which he was entirely wanting.

When Prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, relied on this battle, and that all orders about communicating his intentions to him, he took the field, but, he did it chiefly as a volunteer; and, except by his personal courage, which he showed with valour, he had no share in the action. Formed to fight, though all the circumstances were rendered adverse by accident, and bad training, still he was the prospect of mending all his pains and fatigue. He resolved no longer to maintain the few resources which remained to a desperate cause, and thought, that the loss regard to honour, which had at first engaged to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with such a contrary success. As at morning early, he sent word to the Prince, that he would retire to York, thinking for it, and without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a castle, which carried him beyond fear. During the winter of 1644, all was a desertion, he lived abroad in great secrecy, and the only persons who he could count upon, were those who opposed the government of England. He did not, by any false notion or expectation, to those who were his former supporters, and the least favourable notice of his name abroad, that the liberty and freedom of a whole life, had fallen into his hands, and that he was now at liberty to do as he pleased.

Prince Rupert with equal precipitation flew on the remains of his army, and settled into Lancashire. Goring, in a few days, was obliged to surrender York, and he marched out his garrison with all the furniture of war, and laid Lancaster remaining in the town, and all the government in the hands of the parliament. He then retired into Lancashire, to assist in the parliament, and to attend the council of Prince Rupert. The parliament continued northward, in order to meet the Earl of Cambridge, who was with

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1644 cing with ten thousand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm: The Earl of Manchester, with Cromwel, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly ascribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

WHILE these events passed in the north, the King's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and more ability. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted, under the King, as general.

THE parliament soon completed their two armies commanded by Essex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many speeches were made to the citizens, by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to spare, on this important occasion, either their purses, their persons, or their prayers; and they were sufficiently liberal, it must be confessed, in all these contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the King shut himself up in that city, to lay siege to it, and by one enterprize put a period to the war. The King, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon and had enclosed him on both sides*. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himself marched into the west, in quest of Prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only separated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence, that the King was advanced to Deudly, and directed his course towards Shrewsbury. In order to prevent him, Waller presently dislodged, and hastened by quick marches to that city: When the King, suddenly returning upon his own foot-steps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, now in his turn marched out in search of Waller.

Bank of Cro-
redy-bridge. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge near Banbury; but the Charwell ran betwixt them. Next day, the King dislodged and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the King thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged Prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The King followed him, and having re-inforced his army from all quarters, appeared

peared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army, which might fall on the King's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The King pressed them on one side; Prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Roberts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth; Banour with his horse passed the King's guards, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garriſons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed. By this advantage, which was much wanted of, the King, besides the honour of the enterprize, obtained what he stood extremely in need of: The parliament, having preserved the rest, did what they could easily repair.

No sooner did this news arrive in London, than the commons voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding, no less politic than magnanimous, the parliament preserved thro' the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with success, these two powerful engines of reward and punishment, in confirmation of their authority.

THAT the King might have less reason to exult in the advantages, which he had obtained in the west, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Essex's subdued, but not disheartened troops, they ordered Manchester and Cromwel to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and joining their armies to those of Waller and Mordaunt, as well as of Essex, offer battle to the King. At Newbury, where Charles chose his post, they attacked him with great vigour; and that town was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities of the English. Essex's soldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lestwithiel, made an impetuous assault on the royals; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Tho' the King's troops defended themselves with great valor, they were overpowered by numbers; and the night came very seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Charles, having left his baggage and cannon in Dennington castle, near Newbury, forthwith retreated to Warrington, and from thence to Oxford. There, Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened with this assistance

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ment, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington-castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army, since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who commanded, tho' his forces were much superior to those of the King, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwel's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of finishing the war. The King's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed sufficiently to have repaired the honour, which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles having the satisfaction to excite, between Manchester and Cromwel, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller, distributed his army into winter-quarters.

THOSE contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which, tho' the dread of the King's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself, with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at first, taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. We must here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action.

Rise and character of the independents.

DURING those times, when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honour and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinction and preferment; it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervours, or confine within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degrees of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

THE independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no church courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in spiritual concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines

doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united Chap. VIII
141 voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one devoid of temporal functions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was deemed between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was supposed, as in all other churches, to be requisite to convey a right to the holy order. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to shake off the authority of prelates, to reject the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: The fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished all ecclesiastical government, disdained all creeds and systems, rejected every ceremony, and confounded each rank and order. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervors of zeal, and guided by the illusions of the spirit, gave himself up to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with Heaven.

The catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: The presbyterians, imagining, that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice: The independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects, this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and, 'tis remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.

Priest and prelacy alone, whose genius, they thought, tended towards superstition, the independents were inclined to treat with rigour. The doctrines too of fate or destiny, they were apt to deem essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectarie, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred.

The political system of the independents kept pace with their religious. Not contented with confining, to very narrow limits, the power of their sovereign, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; which was the project of the presbyterians; this sect more ardent in the pursuit of liberty,

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aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an intire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all propofals for peace, except on such terms as, they knew, it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the injured prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the success, which had already attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still further in this obstinacy.

SIR Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwel, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The Earl of Essex, disgusted with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The Earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme, which, if it took place, would confound himself and his family with the lowest in the kingdom. The Earls of Warwick, and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Masséy, Whitelocke, Mainard, Glyn, had embraced the same sentiments. In the parliament, a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

THE Earl of Manchester, provoked at the violent impeachment, which the King had lodged against him, had long forwarded the war with great alacrity; but, being a man of humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of government, began to moderate his ardor, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe or honourable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, not to have pushed to the utmost against the King the advantages, obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwel, in the public debates, revived the accusation, that he had wilfully neglected at Dennington-castle a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. "I showed him evidently," said Cromwel, "how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the King's army in their retreat; leaving it in the Earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neuter with the rest of his forces: But, notwithstanding all importunity, he positively and obstinately refused his consent;

" and

“ and gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end
 “ of our pretensions: We should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and
 “ forfeited by the law.”

MANCHESTER, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that at another time, Cromwel having proposed some scheme, which it seemed improbable the parliament would agree to, he insisted and said, *My Lord, if you will, that I will take my men, you shall find me at the head of an army, which will give law both to king and parliament.* “ This discourse,” continued Manchester, “ made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, and there was ne’er a lord or peer in the king dom.” So full was Cromwel of these republican projects, that notwithstanding his habits of profane and hypocritical hypocrisy, he could not so carefully guard his expressions, but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him.

THESE violent dissensions brought matters to extremity, and pushed the independents to the execution of their designs. The present generals, they thought, were more desirous of protracting than finishing the war; and having entertained a scheme for preserving still some balance in the constitution, they were afraid of intirely subduing the King, and reducing him to a condition, where he should be intitled to ask no concessions. A new model alone of the army would bring compleat victory to the parliament, and free the nation from these calamities, under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits of Essex, was very great with the parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honour: It was, in some measure, to be ascribed to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwic, and the other commanders had likewise great credit with the public, nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of these antagonists. The Scotch nation and Scotch commissioners, jealous of the progress of the independents, were a new obstacle; which, without the utmost art and subtlety, it would be difficult to surmount. The methods by which this intrigue was conducted, are so singular, and mark so well the genius of the age, that we shall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by Lord Clarendon.

A FAST, on the last Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the parliament at the beginning of these commotions; and their preachers, on that day, kept alive, by their vehement declamations, the popular prejudices enter-

Chap. VIII. 1644. tained against the King, against prelacy, and against popery. The King, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewise a monthly fast, where the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and of submission to the higher powers; and he chose the second Friday of every month for the devotion of the royalists. It was now proposed and carried in parliament, by the independents, that a more solemn fast should be voted; when they should implore the divine assistance for extricating them from those perplexities, in which they were at present involved. On that day, the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the parliament, and ascribed them intirely to the selfish ends, pursued by the members. In the hands of those members, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the profitable offices in the civil administration: And while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an insupportable load of taxes; these men multiply possessions on possessions, and will, in a little time, be masters of all the riches in the kingdom. That such persons, who fatten in the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or ensuring a final success to the war, cannot reasonably be expected. Lingered expedients alone will be pursued: And operations in the field concurring, in the same pernicious end, with deliberations of the cabinet; civil commotions will, for ever, be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating these disorders, the ministers fell again to their prayers; and besought the Lord that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the instruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a conclusion so glorious a design, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and by establishing true religion, put a speedy period to the public miseries.

On the day subsequent to these devout animadversions, when the parliament met, a new spirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the commons, That, if ever God appeared to them, it was in the holy ordinances of yesterday: That, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been auditors in different congregations, the same lamentations and discourses, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: That so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: That he therefore besought them, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private ends, and renounce every office, attended with profit or advantage: That the absence of so many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the house extremely thin, and diminished the authority of their determinations: And that
he

he could not forbear, for his part, the accusing himself as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treasurer of the navy; and tho' he was possessed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament, yet was he ready to resign it, and to sacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every consideration of private interest and advantage.

CROWWELL acted next his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their error, of which they were so unwilling to be instructed. Tho' they dwelt on many things, he said, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confess, that, till there was a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wisely in the commencement of the war, to engage several of their members in the most dangerous parts of it; and thereby to satisfy the nation, that they intended to share all hazards with the minutest of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progress of military operations, there have arisen, in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are qualified for higher commands than they are now possessed of. And tho' it becomes not men, engaged in such a cause, *to put trust in the arm of flesh*, yet he could assure them, that their troops contained generals, fit to command in any enterprize in Christendom. The army indeed, he was sorry to say, did not correspond, by its discipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevail among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking.

In opposition to this reasoning of the independents, many of the presbyterians shewed the inconvenience and dangers of the projected alteration. Whitelocke, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, tho' in every change of government, he always adhered to the ruling power, said, That, besides the ingratitude of discarding, and that by fraud and subtilty, so many noble persons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief support; they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: That the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either house, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: That greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those embraced by the persons, who employed them: That no maxim of policy was more undisputeably, than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the lat-

Chap. VIII. 1644. ter in strict subordination to the former : That the Greeks and Romans, the wisest and most passionate lovers of liberty, had ever entrusted to their senators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealousy of all mercenary forces : And that those alone whose interest was involved in that of the public, and who possessed a vote in the civil deliberations, would sufficiently respect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those, by whom it was committed to them.

Self-denying
ordinance.

NOTWITHSTANDING these reasonings, a committee was chosen to frame what they called the *Self-denying ordinance*, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the whole parliament and city into factions. But, at last, by the prevalence of envy with some ; with others, of false modesty ; with a great many, of the republican and independent views ; it passed the house of commons, and was sent to the upper house. The peer, tho' the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order ; tho' all of them were, at bottom, extremely averse to it ; possessed so little authority, that they durst not oppose the resolution of the commons ; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin, which they saw approaching. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses, Essex, Warwic, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex.

1645.

It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men ; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. 'Tis remarkable, that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone : And the article of the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had the animosities increased between the parties. Cromwel, being a member of the lower house, should have been discarded with the others ; but this impartiality would have disappointed all the views of those, who had introduced the self-denying ordinance. He was saved by a subtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was so eminent. At the time, when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken, that he should be sent with a body of horse, in order to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his immediate attendance in parliament ; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. A ready compliance was feigned ; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the house. But Fairfax, having

ving appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and desired, chap. VIII.
 leave to retain, for some days, Lieutenant general Cromwel, whose advice, he 1644
 said, would be useful, in supplying the place of those officers, who had resigned.
 Shortly after, he begged, with much earnestness, that they would allow Crom-
 wel to serve that campaign. And thus the independents, and the army, pre-
 vailed by art and cunning over the presbyterians, and bestowed their whole military
 authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwel.

FAIRFAX was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity, and was
 not more guided by that *decorum*, which regards the opinion of the public, than by
 that nobler principle of *eternitas*, which seeks the inward satisfaction of the con-
 sciousness and applause. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his views; open
 in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of that age;
 but had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and
 his embarrassed and confused education, on every occasion but when he gave or-
 ders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the pains which he acted,
 even when invested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordi-
 nate.

CROMWEL, by whose sagacity and insinuation Fairfax was intirely governed, chap. IX.
 is one of the most eminent and most singular personages, which occurs in his-
 tory: The strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the
 schemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His ex-
 tensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects: His enterprizing
 genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried, by his
 natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an impetuous and domi-
 neering policy; he knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dis-
 simulation, the most oblique and recondite artifice, the semblance of timor and mo-
 deration and simplicity. A friend to justice, tho' his private conduct was a
 continued violation of it; devoted to religion, tho' he perpetually employed it
 as the instrument of his ambition; he was engaged in the pursuit of the greatest
 sovereign power, a temptation, which is, in general, irresistible to human na-
 ture. And by using well that authority, which he attained by hard and violent
 means, he has lessened, if not overpowered, our detestation of his cruelties, by our
 admiration of his success and of his genius.

By this important transaction of the first day of September, the civil
 war of the parliament was irreversibly carried on, and was immediately followed by
 the taking of the city of London, and the execution of Charles the first, after
 having sat two months, on his trial, at the bar of the commons.

CHAP. X.

THE first day of September, 1644, the parliament, by a resolution, ordered
 that the city of London should be put under the protection of the commons.

Chap. VIII.
1645.

desiring a treaty, the parliament dispatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals, as high as if they had obtained a compleat victory. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great distresses of the royalists, had much elevated their hopes; and they were resolved to repose no trust in men, enflamed with the highest animosity against them, and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law to punish all their opponents as rebels and as traitors.

THE King, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no prospect but of war, or of total submission and subjection: Yet, in order to satisfy his own party, who were extremely impatient for peace, he agreed to send the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton, with an answer to the parliament's proposals, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were not a free parliament; and accordingly, he was induced, tho' with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the parliament of England. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter, which he wrote to the Queen, and of which a copy was taken at the battle of Naseby, that he secretly entered a protestation in his council-book; and he pretended, tho' he had *called* them the parliament, that he had not thereby *acknowledged* them for such*. This subtlety, which has been frequently objected to Charles, is the most noted of those very few instances, from which the enemies of this Prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of insincerity; and have inferred that the parliament could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, not even in his laws and statutes. There is, however, it must be confessed, a difference universally avowed between simply giving to men the appellation, which they assume, and the solemn acknowledgment of their title to it; tho' it had perhaps been better, had the King, in such delicate transactions between him and his people, kept at the widest distance from such suspicious distinctions.

30th of Jan. THE time and place of treaty were agreed on, and accordingly sixteen commissioners from the King met at Uxbridge with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended with the Scotch commissioners. It was agreed that the Scotch and

* His words are, "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument, that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise; and accordingly it is register'd in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation." *The King's Cabinet opened.*

and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with regard to three important articles, *Religion*, the *Military*, and *Internal*; and that these should be successively examined and discussed in conferences with the King's commissioners. It was soon found totally impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles.

Is the summer 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, composed of 121 divines and 50 laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the hierarchy was entirely abolished, and, in its place, a new directory for worship was established, by which, suitable to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the *Helmsdale* and covenant, episcopacy was abjured, as destructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with every circumstance, which could render a promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scotch, never to suffer its re-admission. All these measures showed little spirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the King's commissioners were not surprized to find the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription to the covenant, both by the King and kingdom.

C c c 2

III.

Chap. VIII
1645.

HAD Charles been of a disposition to neglect all theological controversy ; he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it ; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as so important an article, was for ever to relinquish their friendship and assistance. But Charles had never attained such enlarged principles. He esteemed bishops essential to the very being of a christian church ; and he thought himself bound, by more sacred ties, than those of policy, or even of honour, to the support of that order. His concessions therefore, on this head, he judged sufficient, when he agreed, That an indulgence should be given to tender consciences with regard to ceremonies ; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and council of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese ; that they reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday ; that pluralities be abolished ; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed ; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied from the bishop's estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament. These concessions, tho' considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissions ; and, without abating any thing of their rigor on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

THE King's partizans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the securities so early and easily given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundless ; and that no human institution could be better poised and adjusted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the star-chamber and court of high commission, the prerogative, they said, has lost all that coercive power, by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty : By the establishment of triennial parliaments, it can have no leisure to acquire new powers, or guard itself, during any time, from the inspection of that watchful assembly : By the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of these salutary statutes : And while the prince commands no mercenary forces, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined by means of late disputes, and so passionately cherished by all his subjects. In this situation, surely, the nation, governed by so virtuous a monarch, may, for the present, remain

education, could not pretend any title to saintship. The profane scholars at Oxford, after the parliament became masters of that town, gave to the house, in which the zealots assembled, the denomination of *Long-chapel*. The zealous, in their turn, insulted the scholars and professors ; and, intruding into the pious of lectures, declaimed against human learning, and challenged the most knowing of them to prove that their calling was from Christ. See Wood's *Fatti Oxonienses*, p. 74c.

remained in possession, and try, whenever it be not possible, by one sort of art to cause that another, will not fail, in its power, to be more successful in the treatment.

But, though the royalists suffered on their political requests before the commencement of the war, they were obliged to own, that the progress of civil commotions had somewhat abated the force and evidence of their reasoning. If the power of the militia, late the property party, be entrusted to the king, it will not now appear either impossible for him to abuse that authority. By the rage of a tedious discord, his partizans are enflamed into an extreme sort of action, their antagonists; and have contracted, no doubt, some prejudices against popular privileges, which, in their apprehension, have been the source of so much mischief. When the affairs of the state, therefore, put entirely into his hands; what power, security, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what protection can be to those, who, in opposition to the latter of the two, have to perpetually regard their lives in its defence? In compliance with this apprehension, Charles ordered, that the affairs of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or the one half by him, the other by the parliament. And, after the expiration of that term, he insisted, that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him.

These parliamentary commissioners at first demanded, that the power of the sword should for ever be entrusted to such persons, as the parliament alone should appoint: But afterwards, they relaxed so far, as to require that authority only, for seven years; after which, it was not to return to the king, but to be settled by bill, or by common agreement between him and his parliament. The king's commissioners asked, whether sea battles and wars were all on one side; and whether the prince, from such violent attempts and pretensions as he had experienced, had not, at least, equal reason to apprehend for his authority, as they for their liberty? Whether there was any equity, in leaving only one party, and leaving the other, during seven years, at the mercy of their enemies? Whether, if a limited power was entrusted to the parliament during a long period, it would not be easy for them to turn the sovereign bill in the manner not possible to them to execute, and keep for ever possession of the sword, as well as of every article of civil power and jurisdiction?

It is true, that, at the commencement of the war, it was very difficult to make any proposal, to a moderate or temperate party, especially for that of the parliament, against civil war and blood, or any other considerable loss of blood, and the power of the militia necessarily returned to the king, or the other. The civil war is never ended, but by an equal, general, and durable revolution.

then

Chap. VIII. that has been concluded between two factions, which have been inflamed into
1645. civil war.

With regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament demanded, That the cessation with the rebels should be declared void; that the management of the war should be given over entirely to the parliament; and that after the conquest of Ireland, the nomination of the Lord lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, should likewise remain in their hands.

What rendered a peaceful accommodation still more desperate: The demands on these three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commissioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. Were all these granted, they still reserved the power of reviving those other demands, still more exorbitant, which, a little before, had been transmitted to the King at Oxford. Such ignominious terms were there insisted on, as worse could scarcely be demanded, were Charles totally vanquished, a prisoner, and in chains. The King was required to attaind and exempt from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scotch, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms, who had borne arms for him. It was insisted, that forty-eight more, with all members who had sat in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the King's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the King, should forfeit the tenth part of their estate, or if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if the royal authority was not sufficiently annihilated by such terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words, from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose, during twenty days, among the commissioners, they separated, and returned; those of the King, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London.

Execution of
Law.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined resolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the same violent and imperious manner, with which they had, at first,

first, entered on these dangerous enterprises. Archbishop Laud, the most favoured minister of the King, was brought to the bar; and in this instance, the public might see, that popular assemblies, as, by their very number, they are, in a great measure, exempt from the restraint of shame, for, when they are over-leap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the greatest tyranny and injustice.

From the time, that Laud had been committed, the house of commons, engaged in enterprises of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his imprisonment; and he had patiently endured so long an imprisonment, without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the fierceness of that nation revived the like spirit in England; and the sectaries resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate, who had so long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous spirit under the most violent confinement. He was accused of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The same illegality of an accumulative crime and a constructive evidence, which appeared in the case of Strafford, the same violence and iniquity in conducting the trial, are conspicuous thro' the whole course of this prosecution. The groundless charge of popery, which was belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged against the prisoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was supposed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my lords," said Sir Isaac Wilde, concluding his long speech against him, "is like Naaman the Syrian; a great man, but a leper."

We shall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at present, seems to admit of so little controversy. It suffices to say, that after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found it the likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against Laud, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this apostate prelate. Notwithstanding the low condition, into which the house of peers were reduced, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extingish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty, possessed by the upper house. Seven peers alone voted in this important question. The rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves.

Laud, who had behaved during his trial with great spirit and valor of spirit, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but died bravely, and professed himself as happy as five or six violent deaths. He turned all his fears to disfigure before that superior courage, by which he was annihilated. "No more," said he, "can be

more

Chap VIII. 1645. “ more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go.” Even upon the scaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harrassed and molested by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigning sect, and a great leader in the lower house : This was the time he chose for examining the principles of the dying primate, and trepaning him into a confession, that he trusted, for his salvation, to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer. Having extricated himself from these theological toils, the Archbishop laid his head on the block ; and it was severed from the body by one blow *. Those theological opinions, for which he suffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and constancy of his end. Sincere, he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by religious motives in all his pursuits ; and it is to be regretted that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprizes with so much warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of society.

THE great and important advantage, which the party gained by Strafford's death, may, in some degree, palliate the iniquity of the sentence pronounced against him : But the execution of this old infirm prelate, who had so long remained an inoffensive prisoner, can be ascribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in those severe religionists, by whom the parliament was intirely governed. That he deserved a better fate was not questioned by any reasonable man : The degree of his merit was, in other respects, much disputed. Some accused him of recommending slavish doctrines, of promoting persecution, and of encouraging superstition ; while others thought, that his conduct, in these three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

THAT the *letter* of the law, as much as the most flaming court-sermon, inculcates passive obedience, is very apparent : And tho' the *spirit* of a limited government seems to require, in very extraordinary cases, some mitigation of so rigorous a doctrine ; it must be confessed, that the preceding genius of the English constitution had rendered a mistake in this particular very natural and excusable. To inflict death at least on those, who depart from the exact line of truth in these nice questions ; so far from being favourable to national liberty ; favours strongly of the spirit of tyranny and proscription.

TOLERATION had hitherto been so little the principle of any christian sect, that even the catholics, the remnant of the religion professed by their ancestors, could not obtain from the English the least indulgence. This very house of commons, in their famous remonstrance, took care to justify themselves, as from

the

* 12th of July.

Chap. VIII. looking the circumstances of the times, served rather to inflame that religious
 1645. fury, which he meant to repress. But this blemish is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud; and 'tis sufficient for his vindication to observe, that his errors were the most excusable of all those which prevailed during that zealous period.

C H A P. IX.

Montrose's victories.——The new model of the army.——Battle of Naseby.——Surrender of Bristol.——The west conquered by Fairfax.——Defeat of Montrose.——Ecclesiastical affairs.——King goes to the Scotch at Newark.——End of the war.——King delivered up by the Scotch.

WHILE the King's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel.

BEFORE the commencement of these civil disorders, the Earl of Montrose, a young Nobleman of a distinguished family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the King, and had made an offer of his services; but by the insinuations of the Marquess, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that distinction, to which he thought himself justly intitled. Disgusted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and agreeable to the natural ardour of his genius, he had applied himself, during the first insurrection, with great zeal as well as success, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commissioned by the *Talbot* to wait upon the King, while the royal army lay at Berwick, he was so won upon by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himself intirely, tho' secretly, to his service, and entred into a close correspondence with him. In the second Scottish insurrection, a great military command was entrusted to him by the covenanters; and he was the first who passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means, however, soon after to convey a letter to the King: And by the infidelity of some about that Prince; Hamilton, as was by some suspected; a copy of this

the latter was first to I even the Scotch general. Being accused of having conspired with the enemy, Montrose, on pain of execution, was obliged to declare, if they dared to call their power in evidence, that he had not taken any seditious behaviour, he escaped the charge, and was promoted to a new rank. As he was now fully known to be on the royal party, he was appointed to all the important offices; and he endeavored to show that, who had once saved his country, into a bond of affection for his nation's service. In this endeavor, and in this enterprize, and distressed some time, he was not unsuccessful, and continued, by his countenance and protection, to induce many into the rebel's ranks. Among other persons of distinction, who united a private animus, was the Lord Napier of Merchiston, son to the famous inventor of the printing-press, the person to whom the title of a Great man is more justly due than to any other, whom his country ever produced.

There was in Scotland another party, who professing equal attachment to the King's service, pretended only to differ with Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of this party, Hamilton was the leader. That Nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to the King, not only by reason of the connection of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour, with which he had ever been honoured by his maker. Being accused by Lord Rae, not without some appearance of probability, of a conspiracy against the King; Charles was so far from harbouring suspicion against him, that, the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and passed alone the night with him. But such was the Duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and sovereign; and tho' he at last sacrificed his life in the King's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by posterity naturally free from blemish. Perhaps, (and this is the most probable opinion) the politeness and refinement of his conduct and his temperate manner, which accompanied a wild disposition, have been the chief cause of the suspicion, which has never yet been fully proved or removed. As much as the Lord Napier's spirit of Montrose prompted him to interpose his mediation, so the temper of Hamilton inclined to such a moderate moderation and diffidence, as he thought himself, that the Scotch government was already leaning on him, and the English parliament, and resolved that, whether he proceeded or not, he would be vigorous and intrepid, and would not be silent, that every day was

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* The *Scottish History*, published by James Macdonald, in 1800, contains the following account of the Duke of Lennox, who was killed at the battle of Marston: "He was then the King's second Marshal; and the soldiers were the

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tempt would precipitate them into measures, to which, otherwise, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scotch parliament was summoned without the King's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now visible, and that if some unexpected blow was not struck, to dissipate them, they would arm the whole nation against the King; the latter maintained the possibility of outvoting the disaffected party, and securing, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the Scotch nation. Unhappily for the royal cause, Hamilton's representations met with more credit from the King and Queen, than those of Montrose; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hostile measures. Montrose hastened to Oxford; where his invectives against Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepossession, and supported by the unfortunate event of his councils, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own suspicions, Charles, so soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and fly into Scotland.

THE King's ears were now open to Montrose's councils, who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeable to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Tho' the whole nation was occupied by the covenanters, tho' great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends, who remained to the King, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige the malecontents to recal those forces, which had so sensibly thrown the balance in favour of the parliament. Not discouraged with the defeat at Marston moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England; he was contented to stipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a Nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, changing his disguises and passing thro' many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partizans for the attempting some great enterprize.

No sooner were the Irish landed, tho' not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action, which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause: And with this combined force, he hastened to attack Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of 6000 men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, totally unprovided of horse, ill supplied with arms
and

a diminution, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he possessed, by his own example, and the rapidity of his conquests, that he inspired into his raw followers. Having received the news of the victory, which was achieved chiefly with a volley of muskets, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters *.

This victory, tho' it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not in power nor numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom were externally attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the parliament, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouse again the Marquess of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having lately taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the gallant Earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: The eldest was, at that time, a prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the Lord Burley, who commanded a force of 2000 men. After a sharp combat, by his undaunted courage, which in his situation, was true policy, and was also not unaccompanied with military skill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them †.

But by this second advantage, he obtained not the end, which he proposed. The envious nature of Henry, jealous of Montrose's glory, rendered him averse to join an army, where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, re-inforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Rod, Cathness, to the number of 8000, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and fixed his weak, but active troops, in small detachments. After some marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Inver-castle. The Noblemen's character, tho' celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military prowess; and after some skirmishes, in which he was worsted, he here allowed Montrose to cleave him. By quick marches thro' these inaccessible mountains, that general freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters ‡.

Such was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally attractive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory, he was so greedy of spoil, but desiring the immediate reputation to be unex-

* See the account of this battle in the Appendix.

† See the account of this battle in the Appendix.

‡ See the account of this battle in the Appendix.

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ed riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and spent with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, thro' snowy mountains, unprovided of every necessary, they fell off, and left their general almost alone with the Irish, who, having no place to which they could retire, still adhered to him in every fortune.

With these, and some reinforcement of the Athole-men, and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it the whole rage of war; driving the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. This severity, by which Montrose filled his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing himself still at a considerable distance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, who were veteran soldiers, joined to 5000 new levied troops of the northern counties, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with inevitable destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle, before the surprised, but not affrighted, covenanters. Argyle alone, seized with a panic, deserted his army, who still maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter: And the power of the Campbells (that is Argyle's name) being thus broke; the highlanders, who were in general well-affected to the royal cause, began to join Montrose's camp, in great numbers. Seaforth's army dissipated of itself, at the very terror of his name. And the Lord Gordon, eldest son to Huntley, having escaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose, with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother the Earl of Aboine.

2d of Feb.

THE council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montrose's progress, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, against an enemy, whose repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again enlisted himself among the King's enemies, they sent them to the field, with a considerable army, against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of 800 men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: And having carried it by assault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him. His conduct and presence of mind, in this emergency, appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his soldiers from plunder, put them in order, secured his retreat by the most

skillful

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apprehended. Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwel under his name, introduced, at last, the *new model* into the army, and threw the whole troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands, as the independents could entirely rely on. Besides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

Tho' the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other, during this period: Discipline also was attained by the forces of the parliament: But the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, seems still, on both sides, to have been, in a great measure, wanting. Historians at least, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valour and fortune chiefly determined the success. The great ornament of history, during these reigns, are the civil, not the military transactions.

*New model of
the army.*

NEVER surely was a more singular army assembled, than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greatest number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: The officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During all the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is so necessary to support the honour of that profession. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence, which, to their own surprize, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapses of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, mounting that tribunal, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences; where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When marching to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as
with

with the instruments of military music; and each man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger, in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, instead of banishing their pious visions, served rather to impress their minds more strongly with them.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces, assembled by the King at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number, to their adversaries; but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had risen to a prodigious height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the soldiery, had indulged the troops in very unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of profligate manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder: And the licentious Goring, Gerard, Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to the greatest pitch of extravagance. In the west especially, where Goring commanded, universal spoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waste by the unbounded rapine of the army. All distinction of parties being in a manner dropped, the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy wished there for such success to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to these oppressions. The country people, despoiled of their whole substance, stocked together in several places armed with clubs and flaves; and tho' they professed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties, their hatred was in most places levelled chiefly against the royalists, from whom they had met with the worst treatment. Many thousands of the most industrious peasants were assembled in different parts of England; who destroyed such ragging soldier as they met with, and much retarded the armies.

The disposition of the forces on both sides, was as follows: Part of the Scots army was employed in taking Pontefract, and other towns in Yorkshire. Part of the loyal garrison Carlisle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Cludham. Chester, where Byron commanded, had long been blockaded by Sir William Brouncker, and was reduced to great difficulties. The King, being joined by the Prince, Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a considerable army, about 12,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwel were posted at Winton, with an army not less of 22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, was held by Blake, besieged a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about 12,000 men; and tho' the distance had been very oblique, the

Chap. XI. 1645. garrison was reduced to the last extremity. Goring commanded, in the west, an army of nearly the same number.

ON opening the campaign, the King formed the project of relieving Chester ; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The King was first in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropshire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army was drawn off. Fairfax, having reached Salisbury in his road westward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the King's absence. He obeyed, after sending Colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief : But the royalists, being reinforced with 3000 horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place.

THE King having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards ; and, in his way, sat down before Leicester, a garrison of the parliament. Having made a breach in the wall, he stormed the town on all sides ; and, after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders, to which their natural violence, especially when enflamed by resistance, is so much addicted. A great booty was taken and distributed among them : Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the King's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach ; and march towards the King, with an intention of offering him battle. The King was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun ; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the King, in order to deliberate concerning the measures which he should pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat ; because Gerard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army ; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton, and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the King, and give him an incontestable superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, whose boiling ardour still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full ; and urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them : The
resolution

resolution was formed to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him. Chap. IX.
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At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well-fought field, between the King and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the King: The right wing, by Prince Rupert: The left, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwel, in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwel's son-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and usual success, by Prince Rupert. Tho' Ireton made stout resistance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broke, and pursued with precipitate fury by Rupert: He was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in harrying and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The King led on his main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout foldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation, which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground. The infantry of the parliament was broke, and pressed upon by the King; till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Mean while, Cromwel, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved that advantage, which he had gained by his valour. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the King's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, tho' twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: And that general, excited by so steady a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a foldier to keep for him. The foldier afterwards boasting that he had won this spoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action; *Let him retain that honour, said Fairfax, I have to day acquired one myself.*

Prince Rupert, sensible too late of his error, left the main attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the King, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, *O ye champions, and we recover the day.* But the disadvantages, under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be rallied.

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to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The slain, on the side of the parliament, exceeded those on the side of the King: They lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners and 4000 private men: Took all the King's artillery and ammunition, and totally dissipated his infantry: So that scarce any victory could be more compleat, than that which he obtained.

AMONG the other spoils, was seized the King's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the Queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect most dishonour upon him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are wrote with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the King's genius and morals. A mighty fondness, 'tis true, and attachment, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace measures, disagreeable to her: But such declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a literal sense. And so legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even tho' she was a papist.

THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia; so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that relation, immediately sent the letter to the Queen unopened. Philip was not their sovereign; nor were they enflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions.

AFTER the battle, the King retreated with that body of horse, which remained intire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harrassed and exhausted quarters. Fairfax, having first retaken Leicester, which was surrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him, wrote by Goring to the King, and unfortunately entrusted to a spy of Fairfax. Goring informed the King, that, in three weeks time, he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would join his Majesty with all the forces of the west; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any action with the enemy. This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to direct the councils of Fairfax. After leaving a body of 3000 men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the King's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists.

27th of June.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he was pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised; and the royalists retired to Langport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them first at post, beat them from it, killed half of their men, and took five prisoners. With this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town of some strength, and of great consequence in that country. Having entered the outer town of Worm, Windham the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of 1000 men, was made prisoners of war.

Fairfax now entered Bath and Sherborne, resolved to reduce Centre-Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of Prince Rupert, the government was deemed of the last importance. But, so precarious in most men is this quality of military courage, a proper defence was not made by any town, during the whole war. As the great expectations were here extremely disappointed. No soldier had the patience to have entered the lines by storm, than the Prince captured, and they delivered the city to Fairfax. A few days before, he had wrote a letter to the King, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it. Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, at Bristol, was astonished at this unexpected event, which was less fatal to his party than the defeat at Naseby. Still, of indignation, he had not received all Prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The King's affairs now went bad to ruin in all quarters. Carlisle, after an obstinate defence, being surrendered to the Scotch, they marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford; but were obliged to raise it on the King's approach. And this was the last glimpse of success, which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was a-new besieged by the parliamentary forces, under Colonel Jones, Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. While the fight was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, Jones fell upon them from the other side, and put them

to rout, with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners. The King, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and from thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut up himself during the winter season.

The news, which he received from all sides, were no less fatal than those events, which passed, where he himself was present. Fairfax and Cromwel, after the surrender of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westwards, in order to compleat the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter attacked the King's garrisons which lay to the east of Bristol. The Devizes was surrendered to Cromwel; Berkeley castle was taken by storm; Winchester capitulated; Basing-house was entered sword in hand: And all these middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

THE same rapid and uninterrupted success attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elevated by past victories, governed by the most rigid discipline, met with no equal opposition from troops, dismayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. Having beaten up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poudram castle being taken, and Exeter blockaded on all sides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to its relief with an army of 8000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, and all his foot scattered, and he himself with his horse obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorously pursued the victory. Having inclosed the royalists at Truro, he forced the whole army, consisting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings a-piece, to carry them to their own houses. Such of the officers, as desired it, had passes to retire beyond sea: The others, having promised never more to bear arms, payed compositions to the parliament*, and procured their pardon. And thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which compleated the conquest of the west, marched, with his victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The Prince of Wales, in pursuance of the King's orders, retired to Scilly, then to Jersey; from whence he went to Paris; where he joined the Queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the Earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

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* These compositions were different, according to the demerits of the person: But by a vote of the house they could not be under two year's rent of the delinquent's estate. Journ. 11th of August 1648.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprize: Chester surrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horse, to break into Scotland and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by Colonel Copley; his whole forces scattered; and he himself obliged to fly, first to the isle of Man, and thence into Ireland. News too arrive that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last routed; and thus only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguished.

When Montrose descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole forces, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success, at Killyth *. This was the most compleat victory which Montrose ever obtained. The royalists put to sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was shock with these repeated successes; and many noblemen, who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The Marquess of Douglas, the Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, the Lords, Fleming, Seton, Maccarty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners, which were there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest, was the Lord Ogilvy, son to Argy, whose family had contributed extremely to the victory, obtained at Killyth.

David Leslie was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, allured by vain hopes, both of rousing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England a new supply of cavalry, of which he stood in great need. By the negligence of his scouts, Leslie, at Philiphaugh, in the Forth, surprized his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted the most heroic valour, his forces were routed by Leslie's cavalry †. And he himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains, where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprizes.

The covenanters used the victory with great rigour. Their prisoners, Sir Robert Spotswood, secretary of state, and son to the late prime, Sir Philip Nisbet, Sir William Rollo, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son to the Viscount of Murray, William Murray, son to the Earl of Tullibarnet, were condemned and executed. The executioner, appointed to the secretary, was the

* *Journal of Argyle*, p. 15.

† *Journal of Argyle*, p. 16.

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the delivering to Montrose the King's commission to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken prisoner, would have undergone the same fate, had not his sister found means to procure his escape, by changing cloaths with him. For this instance of courage and dexterity, she met with very harsh usage. The clergy solicited the parliament that more royalists might be executed; but could not obtain their request*.

22d of March. AFTER all these repeated disasters, which, every where, beset the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley with a small army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the King, was met at Stowe by Colonel Morgan, and utterly defeated; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, "unless you choose to fall out among yourselves."

THE condition of the King, during this whole winter, was, to the last degree, disastrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigor of mind, which, tho' it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to Lord Digby, if he could not live as a king to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince, whom they had so unfortunately served†. The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harassed their unhappy sovereign; while they over-rated these services and sufferings, which, they now saw, must, for ever, be unrewarded: The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who respected his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, must have wrung his heart with new sorrow; when he reflected, that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable accommodation with the parliament, served to no purpose, but to convince them that the victory was intirely in their hands. They deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners. At last, after reproaching him with the blood that was shed during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him, and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: In other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants: They absolutely refused him access, and issued orders

* Guthry's Memoirs.

† Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No. 433.

orders for the guarding, that is, seizing, his person, in case he should attempt to visit them. A new accident, which happened in Ireland, served to inflame the minds of men, and to increase those calumnies, with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes.

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ALTER the cessation with the Irish rebels, the King was desirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England: And he gave authority to Ormond, Lord lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws, enacted against catholics; together with the suspension of Poinding's statute, with regard to some particular bills, which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, (tho' his patent had not yet passed the seals, having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the King considered that this Nobleman, being a catholic and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: He also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigotted Irish; and that as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character by giving privately authority to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and tho' the final conclusion of the treaty must be performed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the Lord lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the King's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed in the King's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches, which they had ever been in possession of, since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the King in England with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was divulged by accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam being killed by a fall of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published every where, and copies of them sent over to the English parliament. The Lord lieutenant and Lord Digby, foreseeing the clamour which would be raised against the King, committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with high treason for his temerity, and maintained that he had acted altogether without any authority from his Majesty. The

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English parliament likewise neglected not so favourable an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the King's favour of popery, and accused him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated sect. The King told them, " That the Earl of Glamorgan having made " an offer unto him to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct " them into England for his Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to treat " of any thing else, without the privity and direction of the Lord lieutenant, " much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion, or any property belonging either to church or laity." * Tho' this declaration seems to be agreeable to the strictest truth, it gave no satisfaction to the parliament; and some historians, even at present, when the antient bigotry is universally abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the King was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince †.

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* Birch, p. 119.

† Dr. Birch has wrote a treatise on this subject, with all that care and accuracy, by which he has been enabled to throw light on many passages of the English history. It is not my business to oppose any facts contained in that gentleman's performance. I shall only produce arguments, which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with Ormond. 1. It seems to be imply'd in the very words of the commission. Glamorgan is empowered and authorized to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in Ireland, " If upon necessity any (*articles*) be condescended unto, wherein the King's " lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own." Here no articles are mentioned, which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the King publicly to be seen in, and to avow. 2. The King's protestation to Ormond, ought, both on account of that prince's character, and the reasons he assigns, to have the greatest weight. The words are these, " Ormond, I cannot but add to my long letter, that, upon the word of a christian, " I never intended Glamorgan should treat any thing without your approbation, much less without " your knowledge. For besides the injury to you, I was always dissident of his judgment (tho' I " could not think him so extremely weak as now to my cost I have found;) which you may easily " perceive in a postscript of a letter of mine to you." Carte, vol. ii. App. xliii. It is impossible, that any man, who has the least pretensions to honour, however he might dissemble with his enemies, would assert a falsehood in so solemn a manner to his best friend and subject; especially where that person must have had opportunities of knowing the truth. The letter, whose postscript is mentioned by the King, is to be found in Carte, vol. ii. App. xlii. 3. Mr. Carte has published a whole series of the King's correspondence with Ormond, from the time that Glamorgan came into Ireland; and it is evident that Charles all along considered the lord lieutenant as the only person who was conducting the negotiation with the Irish. The 31st of July 1645, after the battle of Naseby, being received to grant a truce, he writes earnestly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions, and to be much inferior to those granted by Glamorgan; and to come over himself with all the

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 1646. they now established, by an ordinance, the presbyterian government in all its
 Ecclesiastical forms of *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *national* assemblies. The whole
 affairs. inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and chuse elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the intire direction of all spiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed intirely of clergymen : The national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. 'Tis probable, that the tyranny exercised by the Scotch clergy, had given warning not to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national assemblies; lest the nobility and more considerable gentry, soliciting a seat in these great ecclesiastical courts, should bestow a consideration upon them, and render them, in the eyes of the multitude, a rival to the parliament. In the inferior courts, the mixture of the laity might serve rather to temper the zeal of the clergy.

BUT tho' the presbyterians, by the establishment of parity among the ecclesiastics, were so far gratified, they were denied satisfaction in several other points, on which they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right : The parliament refused their assent to that decision. Selden, Whitelocke, and other political reasoners, assisted by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that had the bigoted religionists been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority : The former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from no more dignified a source than the voluntary association of the people.

UNDER colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all christian sects had assumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was sufficient warning for the parliament to make provision against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by an ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to the parliament from all ecclesiastical courts. And they appointed commissioners in each province to judge of such cases as fell

fell not within their ordinance. So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to all the zealots. Chap. IX.
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BUT nothing was attended with more universal scandal, than the propensity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the protestant sectaries. The presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political considerations. They maintained the eternal obligation of their covenant to extirpate heresy and schism. And they menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution, of which they had, themselves, so loudly complained, when held in subjection by the hierarchy.

So great prudence and reserve, in such material points, does great honour to the parliament; and proves, that, notwithstanding the prevalence of bigotry and fanaticism, there were many members, who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil interests of society. These men, uniting themselves to the erasmians, whose genius is naturally averse to clerical usurpations, retained so jealous an authority over the assembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of tendering advice, and would not entrust them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his substitute, or of supplying the vacancies of their own members.

WHILE the disputes were canvassed by theologians, who engaged in their spiritual contests every order of the state; the King, tho' he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from these divisions, was much at a loss what side it would be most for his interest to comply with. The presbyterians were, by their principles, the least averse to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: The independents were resolute to lay the foundations of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the King to episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in ballance even with his own power and kingly office.

BUT whatever advantage he might propose to reap from the divisions of the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive, that it would come too late, to save him from that destruction with which he was instantly threatened. Charles was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must inevitably fall into his hands. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles could not bear; and every insult, if not violence, was to be directed against him that

Chap. IX. 1646. *stastic soldiery, who hated his person, and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure, which, in any other situation, might justly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.*

MONTREVILLE, the French minister, interested for the King more by the natural sentiments of humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favour the parliament, had solicited the Scotch generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the King. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scotch army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scotch nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact of him. In all disputes, which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scotch, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English parliament. Great disgust also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scotch found, that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence; and the King hoped, that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection.

In order to conceal his intention, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night, the King, accompanied only with Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed thro' St. Albans, Henley, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained some thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing thro' many cross roads, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death, whoever should harbour or conceal him.

The Scotch generals and commissioners affixed great surprise at the appearance of the King: And that they payed him all the great respects due to his Majesty, and company, they instantly put a guard upon them, under colour of protection; and then made him sit down a prisoner. They insisted that the fourth parliament of this year was the express intent, and assured them, that they had entered into no private treaty with the King. They applied to him for orders to Bellamy, governor of Newark, to surrender his town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament had claim to the entire disposal of the King's person, and that the English arms were making some progress towards them, they thought proper to retire northward, and held their camp at Newcastle.

This measure was very agreeable to the King; and he began to amuse himself with the prospect of protection from the Scotch. He was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy, for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the King, chose these words for his text: "And behold all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto
 "Hir, Why have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and have
 "brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him, over
 "Jordan. And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the
 "king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? Have
 "we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men
 "of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, we have two parts in the king,
 "and we have also more right in David thana yet. Why then did ye exclude us,
 "that our advice should not be full used in carrying him over the king? And the
 "words of the men of Judah were fiercer, than the words of the men of Israel." But the King took round, that the hypocrisy of the Judahites should not respect the preacher to employ this text, nor that the circumstances should be so very propitious towards him. Another preacher attended him, representing him to his majesty, with his majesty's command, ordered the pulpit to be large;

*He is not yet in the land of the living,
 "He is not yet in the land of the living."*

He is not yet in the land of the living, nor in the land of the dead.

Chap. IX. The King stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,
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*Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour :*

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majesty, showed, for once, greater deference to the King than to the minister, and sung the psalm which the former had called for *.

CHARLES had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. Not only he found himself a prisoner, very narrowly guarded : All his friends were kept at a distance ; and no intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him with any one, on whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment to him. The Scotch generals would enter into no confidence with him ; and still treated him with distant ceremony and feigned respect. And every proposal, which they made him, tended farther to his abasement and his ruin.

THEY required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament : And the King, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The terms which were given to most of them, were honourable ; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence ; he would not even permit insults or triumph over the unfortunate royalists ; and by his generous humanity, so cruel a civil war ended, in appearance, very calmly, between the parties.

ORMOND having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montrose also, after having experienced still more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired out of the kingdom.

THE Marquess of Worcester, a man past eighty-four, was the last who submitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended R glan castle to extremity ; and opened not its gates till the middle of August. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the King first erected his standard at Nottingham. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their mother-country.

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* Wilt. test. page 235.

THE parliament and the Scotch laid their proposals before the King. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor: Yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Marston. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the King now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which were formerly offered to the King.

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Charles said, that proposals, which introduced such important innovations in their constitution, demanded time for deliberation: The commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of the terms: They informed him, that they had no power of debate; and required peremptorily his consent or refusal. He requested a particular treaty with the parliament: They threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

What the parliament was most intent upon, was not the treaty with the King, to whom they paid little regard; but that with the Scotch nation. Two important points remained to be settled with them; their delivery of the King, and the extinction of their arrears.

The Scotch pretended, that, as Charles was King of Scotland as well as of England, they were intitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person: And that, in such a case, where the tales are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that, the King, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A delicate question this, and what surely could not be decided by precedent, since such a situation is not, and never, to be found in history.

As the Scotch concurred with the English in supposing that prisoners of war, as on the King, rather thanwithstanding his fortune and person, he belonged to a captor of them; it is certain, that they did not desire his freedom; nor could they ever intend to join liberty and tyranny together, in so inconsistent a manner. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed equally by the parents of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the King, is easily imagined. To carry him a prisoner into Scotland, where few forces could be supported in order to guard him, was a measure so full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the English had consented to it, it must have appeared to the Scotch nation altogether improper. An how could such a plan be supported in opposition to England, possessed of

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such numerous, and victorious armies, which were, at that time, or at least, seemed to be, in intire union with the parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scotch could embrace, if they scrupled intirely to abandon the King, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themselves with the royalists of both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to reduce the English parliament to more moderate conditions: But besides that this measure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends, and in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expence of blood and treasure, they had, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting?

BUT, tho' all these reflections occurred to the Scotch commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the King as a pledge for those arrears, which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to two millions: For they had received very little regular pay, since their entrance into England. And tho' the contributions which they had levied, as well as the price of their living on free quarters, must be deducted; yet still the sum, which they insisted on, was very considerable. After many discussions, it was, at last, agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another within a twelve-month.

GREAT pains were taken by the Scotch, (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the King's person: But common sense requires, that they should be regarded as one and the same. The English, it is evident, had they not been previously assured of receiving the King, would never have parted with so considerable a sum, and, while they weakened themselves, by the same expedient have strengthened a people, with whom they should afterwards have so material an interest to discuss.

THUS the Scotch nation underwent, and still undergo (for such grievous stains are not easily wiped off) the reproach of selling their King, and bargaining their prince for money. In vain, did they maintain, That this money was, on account of former services, intirely their due; that, in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even apparent ruin, could be embraced; that tho' they delivered their King into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him, had long united the

two parties in strict alliance with each other. They were still answered, that they made use of this scandalous expedient to obtain their wages; and that, after taking arms, without any provocation, against their sovereign, who had ever loved and cherished them, they had deservedly fallen into a situation, from which they could not extricate themselves, with out either injury or imprudence.

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The infamy of this bargain had such influence on the Scotch parliament, that they decreed, that the King should be protected and his liberty maintained. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, as he had renounced the covenant, which was pledged on him, it became not the duty to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it relieved the parliament from their vote.

The execution of the final resolution of the Scotch nation to deliver him up, was brought to the King; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at chess*. Such a command of temper did he enjoy, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the bye-standers could perceive, that the letter, which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand, but to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his strength and vigour, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey, in company with so many young people. This test command of Charles was united to perfect candour and sincerity. Otherway, it had merited but final praise.

This King, being delivered over by the Scotch to the English commissioners was conducted, under a guard, to Holmby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. If any still retained rancour against him, in his present condition, they passed in silence; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with exclamations, and with prayers for his safety. That ancient superstition likewise, of desiring the king's touch in ferocious distempers, seemed to acquire fresh credit among the people, from the general tenderness, which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

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* Farnet's history of the Parliament.

† Ludlow's History.

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THE commissioners rendered his confinement at Holmby very rigorous; dismissing all his antient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, tho' earnestly applied to by the King, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him; because they had not taken the covenant. The King refused to assist at the service, exercised according to the Directory; because he had not, as yet, given his consent to that mode of worship. Such religious zeal prevailed on both sides! And such was the divided and distracted condition, to which it had reduced the King and people!

DURING the time, that the King remained in the Scotch army at Newcastle, died the earl of Effex, the discarded, but still powerful and popular general of the parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully sensible of the mischievous extremities, to which affairs had been carried, and of the worse consequences, which were still to be apprehended; he had resolved to conciliate a peace, and to correct, as far as possible, all those ills, to which, from mistake, rather than any bad intentions, he had himself so much contributed. The presbyterian or the moderate party among the commons, found themselves considerably weakened by his death: And the small remains of authority, which still adhered to the house of peers, were, in a manner, wholly extinguished.

CHAP. X.

Mutiny of the army.—The King forced by force.—The army march against the parliament.—The army subdue the parliament.—The King flies to the Isle of Wight.—Second civil war.—Battle of Marston.—The treaty of Newport.—The death of the king and his queen repented.—The King joined again by the army.—The death of the king.—The King's trial.—And execution.—And character.

THE duration of the parliament was of very short duration. No sooner had they submitted their sovereign, than their own servants rose up against them, and rumbled them from their slippery throne. The sacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects or real and ambitious. And every successive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

In proportion as the terror of the King's power decayed, the divisions between independent and presbyterian became every day more apparent; and the secters found it, at last, most fit to seek shelter in one or the other faction. Many new seats were added for elections, in room of members, who had died, or were disqualified for adhering to the King; yet still the presbyterians retained the superiority among the commons: And all the peers, except Lord Say, were censured of that party. The independent, to whom all the military virtues adhered, predominated in the army: And the troops of the new model were universally affected with that enthusiastic spirit. To their assistance on the independent party, among the commons, chiefly trull, in their projects for acquiring the ascendant over their antagonists.

No sooner were the Scotch retired, than the presbyterians, fleeing every thing, reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army. And, under pretence of easing the public burthen, levelled a deadly blow at the independence. They proposed to embark a strong detachment, under Skippon and Maffey, for the service of Ireland: They openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder*. It was even imagined, that

* It was then said men were only prepared to be kept up to keep them from being accepted of by the Scots.

Chap. IX. that another new model of the army was projected, in order to regain to the
1047. presbyterians, that superiority, which they had so imprudently lost by the former.

THE army had small inclination to the service of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waste by massacres, and civil commotions: They had less inclination to disband, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it thro' fatigues and dangers, they now proposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. And most of the officers, being raised from the dregs of the people, had no other prospect, if deprived of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native poverty and obscurity.

THESE motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious spirit, by which the army was universally animated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honour, have considerable authority, and serve to counterballance and direct the motives, derived from private advantage: But, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentary forces, all these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea moral institutions, fitter for heathens than for christians. The saint, resigned over to a superior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, disguised under the appearance of pious zeal. And, besides the strange corruptions engendered by this spirit, it eluded and loosened all the ties of morality, and gave intire scope, and even sanction to the selfishness and ambition, which so commonly adhere to the human mind.

THE military confessors were farther encouraged in disobedience to superiors, by that spiritual pride, to which a mistaken piety is so subject. They were not, they said, mere janizaries; mercenary troops enlisted for hire, and to be disposed of at the will of their paymasters. Religion and liberty were the motives, which had excited them to arms; and they had a superior right to see those blessings, which they had purchased with their blood, ensured to future generations. By the same title, that the presbyterians, in contradistinction to the royalists, had appropriated to themselves the epithet of the *godly*, or the *well-affected*: The independents did now, in contradistinction to the presbyterians, assume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the ascendant, which naturally belongs to it.

HEARING of parties in the house of commons, and being informed, that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally interested themselves in that dangerous distinction, and were eager to give the
superiority

superiority to their partizans. Whatever hardships they underwent, tho' perhaps derived from inevitable necessity, were ascribed to a settled design of oppressing them, and resented as an effect of the animosity and malice of their antagonists.

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1745.

NORWITHSTANDING the great revenue, which accrued from taxes, assessments, sequestrations, and compositions, considerable arrears were due to the army, and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still owing them. The army suspected, that this deficiency was purposely contrived, in order to oblige them to live on free quarter; and, by rendering them useless to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. When they saw such members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate great fortunes, they accused them of rapine and public plunder. And, when a plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they were disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity.

On this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. A petition, addressed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; desiring an indemnity, and that ratified by the King, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows, and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded. The commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, must be attended with the most dangerous consequences, and must soon exalt the military above the civil authority. Besides summoning some officers to answer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of public peace. This declaration, which may be esteemed violent, especially as the army had some ground for complaint, produced very fatal effects. The soldiers lamented, That they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Lutetia and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

March 30.

In this disposition was the army found by Warwick, Daeres, Massie and other commissioners, who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland. Instead of insinuating, the generality objected to the terms; demand-

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16, 7.

ed an indemnity ; were clamorous for their arrears : And, tho' they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwel. Some officers, who were of the presbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to enlist under them. And, as they all lay under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of their companions ; the rest were farther confirmed in that confederacy, which they had formed.

To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious way of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was drawn by near 200 officers ; in which they made their apology, with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower house. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon ; in which, together with insisting on the same topics, they lament, that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom ; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted. The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters.

The parliament too resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion ; but, being destitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient, which could contribute to their purpose. The expedient, which they now made use of, was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Weldon in Essex ; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *dilemper*s. These very generals, at least the three last, were secretly the authors of all the discontents ; and failed not to flatter those disorders, which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a measure was embraced, which, at once, reduced matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable.

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the house of peers ; a more free representative of the army was composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics ; and an easy method contrived for conducting underhand, and propagating the sedition of the army.

This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared, that they found no fault with the army, but many faults with the king, and his ministers, they then voted the officers of the parliament army *delinquent*. The king's army, however, to avoid, was permitted; a small portion of the parliament army was permitted to be their due: No visible security was given for the remainder: They having been declared public enemies by the court, they would be treated as such, unless the declaration was recalled. *Charles*, seeing this, at the height, Charles had posted up to London, and presented himself before the parliament the ruling element of the army.

The parliament made one vision of it more, to try the force of their courage. They voted, that all the troops, which did not enter the field, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. At the time that the command of the army changed a general discharge of all the regiments, in order to provide for the necessary security. And while the army prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory of the parliament.

A party of the parliament army, which had been ordered by the parliament to march to a battle by proclamation, was not allowed to do so, but was ordered to march to a battle by proclamation. *Charles*, seeing this, at the height, Charles had posted up to London, and presented himself before the parliament the ruling element of the army. The parliament made one vision of it more, to try the force of their courage. They voted, that all the troops, which did not enter the field, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. At the time that the command of the army changed a general discharge of all the regiments, in order to provide for the necessary security. And while the army prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory of the parliament.

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one affected astonishment at the enterprize, Cromwel, by whose council it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

THIS artful and audacious conspirator had conducted himself in the parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long deceived those, who, being themselves very dextrous practitioners in the same arts, naturally entertained the more suspicion against others. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly : He lamented the misfortunes of his country : He advised every violent measure for suppressing the mutiny ; and by these precipitant councils, at once evinced his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obtested heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger ; and he had very narrowly escaped a conspiracy, formed to assassinate him. But information being brought, that the most active officers and agitators were intirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders secretly resolved, that, next day, when he came to the house, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower. Cromwel, who, in the conduct of his desperate enterprizes, frequently approached to the very brink of destruction, knew how to make the requisite turn with proper dexterity and boldness. Being informed of this design, he hastened to the camp ; where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command both of general and army.

FAIRFAX, having neither talents himself for cabals, nor penetration to discover the cabals of others, had given his confidence intirely to Cromwel ; who, by the best coloured pretences, and by the appearance of an open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwel's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a situation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view ; and seeming either to obey the commands of his superior officer, or yield to the movements of the soldiers, could secretly pave the way for his future greatness. While the disorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a distance ; lest his counterfeited aversion might throw a damp upon them, or his secret encouragement beget suspicion in the parliament. As soon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the army ; and in the critical moment, struck that important blow of seizing the King's person, and depriving the parliament of any resource by an accommodation with him. Tho' one

vizor fell off, another still remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requisite, he could employ the most indolgent patience: Where celerity was necessary, he flew to a decision. And by the contrariety of parts in the most opposite talents, he was enabled to combine the most contrary interests in a subserviency to his secret purposes.

The parliament, tho' at present defenceless, was not destitute of resources; and time might easily enable them to resist that violence, with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwell advanced his army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

Nothing could be more popular, than this hostility, which the army commenced against the parliament. As much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion.

The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than that Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commission: Immediately after, it was laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exercising acts of oppression on the helpless nation. Tho' the necessity of their situation might serve as an apology for many of their measures, the people, not accustomed to such a species of government, were not disposed to make the requisite allowance.

A small supply of 100,000 pounds a-year could scarce be obtained by the borrowings from the jealous humour of the parliaments; and the French, or all nations in Europe, were the least accustomed to taxes: But this parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to some computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions*; and yet were loaded with debts and imbrance, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If these computations should be thought much exaggerated, as they probably are, the taxes and dispositions were certainly far higher than in any former state of the English government; and to the popular exaggeration are, at least, a proof of popular discontent.

II. h. 2.

B. 2.

* The sum of 100,000 pounds a-year, which was the annual revenue of Charles the First, is not the sum which he received, but the sum which he paid to the parliament. The sum which he received was much less, and the sum which he paid was much more. The sum which he received was the sum which he paid to the parliament, and the sum which he paid was the sum which he received from the parliament. The sum which he received was the sum which he paid to the parliament, and the sum which he paid was the sum which he received from the parliament.

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BUT the disposal of this money was no less the object of general complaint against the parliament than the levying it. The sum of 300,000 pounds they openly took, 'tis affirmed *, and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was entrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of secreting whatever sums they pleased from the public treasure †. These branches were needlessly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more perplexed, to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds, of which they were universally suspected ‡.

THE method of keeping accounts, practised in the exchequer, was confessedly the exactest, the most antient, the best known, and the least liable to fraud. The exchequer was, for that reason, abolished, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were subject to no controul §.

THE excise was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over provisions, and the common necessities of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at least one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom, had been sequestered. To great numbers of royalists, all redress for these sequestrations was refused: To the rest, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compositions and subscribing the covenant; which they abhorred. Besides the ruin and desolation of so many antient and honourable families; indifferent spectators could not but blame the hardship of punishing, with such severity, actions, which the law, in its usual and most undisputed interpretation, strictly required of every subject.

THE severities too, exercised against the episcopal clergy, naturally affected the royalists, and even all men of candor, in a sensible manner. By the most moderate computation **, it appears, that above one half of the established clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adherence to the civil and religious principles, in which they were educated; and for their attachment to those laws, under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were the only terms, which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection

* Clement Walker's history of independency. † Id. ibid. ‡ Id. ibid. § Id. ibid.

** See John Walker's attempt toward recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy. The parliament pretended to leave the sequestered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but John Walker shews it sufficiently appear, that this provision, small as it is, was never regularly paid the sequestered clergy.

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acquired reputation in the wars, had, by a late ordinance, been put into hands, in whom the parliament could intirely confide. This militia were now called out, and ordered to guard the line, which had been drawn about the city, in order to secure it against the King. A body of horse was ordered to be instantly levied. Many officers, who had been cashiered by the new model of the army, offered their service to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north under the command of General Pointz, who was of the presbyterian faction; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. The forces, destined for Ireland, were quartered in the west; and, tho' deemed faithful to the parliament, they also lay at a distance. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops, being so much dispersed, could, at present, be of no manner of service. The Scotch were faithful friends and zealous for presbytery and the covenant; but a very long time was required, ere they could collect their forces, and march to the assistance of the parliament.

8th of June.

IN this situation it was thought more prudent to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled, and erased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission; and the army, hoping, by the terror of their name, to effect all their purposes, stopped at St. Albans, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

HERE commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model, which the parliament had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown.

EVERY day, they rose in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, still more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be satisfied. At first, they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers: Next, they must have a vindication of their character: Then, it was necessary, that their enemies be punished: At last, they claimed a right of modeling the whole government, and settling the nation.

They preserved, in words, all deference and respect to the parliament; but in reality, insulted them and tyrannized over them. That assembly they pretended not to accuse: It was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

They

They proceeded to far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament. Their names were Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Davenant, Sir John Cloworthy, Sir William Walker, Sir John Maynard, Masly, Glen, Long, Harley, and Nichols. These were the very leaders of the protestantian party.

They insisted, that these members should immediately be sequestered from parliament, and be thrown into prison. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed to far. The army observed to them, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpose. At last, the eleven members themselves, not to give occasion to disorder, began leave to retire from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this proof of submission.

Parliament 1646, that the parliament designed to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confusion, they required, that all new levies should be stopped. The parliament complied with this demand.

Thus, being no signs of resistance, the army, in order to have appearance removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the King along with them in all their removal.

The poor Prince now found himself in a better situation than at Hinchinby, and had attained some greater degree of freedom, as well as of consideration with both parties.

And his friends had access to him: His correspondence with the Queen was not interrupted: His chaplains were restored, and he was allowed the use of his library: His children were once allowed to visit him, and passed a few days at Carew-house, where he then resided. He had not seen the Duke of Gloucester, his young son, and the Prince's Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders; nor the Duke of York, since he went to the Scotch army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the parliament, the army, and the situation of a king, must passionately love his family, than Charles the first Prince; and with an instance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwell, who was invited to the meeting of the parliament, contrary, not he now had been present at to render a reason, and to answer and punish the delinquents, which employed much in the whole of his present behaviour of Charles.

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1647.

THAT artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, payed court to the King; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile upon him. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, spoke to him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. All the chief officers treated him with great regard, and talked every where of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on. The royalists, every where, entertained hopes of the restoration of monarchy; and the favour, which they universally bore the army, contributed very much to discourage the parliament, and to forward their submission.

The King began to feel of what consequence he was. The more the national passions increased, the more was he confident, that all parties would, at last, have recourse to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public disorders. *You cannot be without me*, said he, on several occasions: *You cannot compass the nation but by my assistance*. A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal master: Diffractions every where, terrors, oppressions, convulsions: From this scene of confusion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity.

THO' Charles kept his ears open to all proposals, and expected to hold the ballance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: They had confined his person. In both these particulars, the army showed more indulgence. None of his friends were declared his enemies. And in the proposals, which the council of officers sent for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the King had the most extreme reluctance: And they added that a period should be put to the present parliament, the event for which he waited anxiously longed.

This conjunction too seemed more natural with the generals, than with the usurping assembly, who had so long assumed the entire authority of the state, and who had declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an instant, re-instate himself in his civil authority. To

Ireton he offered the lieutenantancy of Ireland: To Cromwel, the garter, the title of Earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwel pretended to hearken to them; and was pleased to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the King, who had no suspicion, that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the daring ambition of seizing a sceptre, transmitted thro' a long line of monarchs; indulged hopes, that he would, at last, embrace a measure, which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

While Cromwel allured the King by these expectations, he still continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and depriving them of all means of resistance. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entrusted the whole military authority to a person, who, tho' well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal.

They voted, that the troops, which, in obedience to them, had insisted for Ireland, and deserted the rebellious army, should be disbanded, or, in other words, be punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied against their general, and had entered into an association with that army, which was so successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority.

THAT no resource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those, who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army.

But this untimely patience, they proposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and they hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: But the impudence of the city lost them all the advantage of their cautious measures. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who begged pardon of the commons; and by their clamour, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote, which they had passed to satisfy. When arraigned in this pretension, they immediately dispersed, and left the parliament at liberty.

Not sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Rochester, than the army in proclamation forbade every sort of tumult, they were removed, their fire to vindictive, against the persons concerned in the insubordinate petition. VOL. I.

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ment, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and council. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounslow-Heath; a formidable army, twenty thousand strong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favourable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthall, attended with eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations: Respect was paid them as to the parliament of England: And the army being provided of so plausible a pretence, which, in all public transactions, is of great consequence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and re-instate the violated parliament.

NEITHER Lenthall nor Manchester were esteemed independents; and such a step in them was intirely unexpected. But they probably foresaw, that the army must, in the end, prevail, and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

THE parliament, forced from their temporizing measures, and obliged to resign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and were determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, Lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham: They renewed their former orders for inlistering troops: They appointed Maffey to be commander: They ordered the trained bands to mann the lines: And the whole city was in a ferment, and resounded with military preparations.

WHEN any intelligence arrived, that the army stopped or retreated, the shout of *One and all*, ran with alacrity, from street to street, among the citizens: When news came of their advancing, the cry of *Treat and capitulate* was no less loud and vehement. The terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainborow, being sent by the general over the river, presented himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some soldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved not to separate their interests from those of the army. It behoved then the parliament to submit. The army marched in triumph thro' the city; but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled.

led; and most of them retired beyond sea: Seven peers were impeached: The mayor, one sherriff, and three aldermen, sent to the Tower: Several citizens and officers of the militia, committed to prison: Every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers: The lines about the city levelled: The militia restored to the independents: Regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuse: And the parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty.

Ch. I. V.
1657.

The army
in the
parliament.

The independent party exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was lodged in their hands; and they had a near prospect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wishes. They had secretly concurred in all encroachments of the military power; and they expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the presbyterians, had been guilty of errors, since the commencement of these disorders: But it must be confessed, that this delusion of the independents and republicans was, of all others, the most contrary to common sense and the established maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, Martin, the men in England the most celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-coloured pretences and professions, they had over-reached the whole nation. To deceive such men would argue a superlative capacity in Cromwel; were it not, that, besides the great difference there is between dark, crooked councils and true wisdom, an exorbitant passion for rule and authority will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of such measures as seem to tend, in any degree, to their own advancement.

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the King to Hampton-Court; and he lived, for some time, in that palace, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such admirable equality of temper did he possess, that, during all the variety of fortune, which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and tho' a prisoner, in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all who approached him, the majesty of a monarch; and that, neither with less nor greater state, than what he had been accustomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itself popular or gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekness and equality.

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1647.

THE parliament renewed their applications to him, and presented him with the same conditions, which they had offered at Newcastle. The King declined acceptance and desired them to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make them the foundation of the public settlement. He still entertained hopes, that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success; tho' every thing, in that particular, bore daily a worse aspect. Most historians have thought, that Cromwel never was sincere in his professions; and that, having, by force, rendered himself master of the King's person, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royalists, he had employed these advantages to the enslaving the parliament: And afterwards thought of nothing but the establishment of his own unlimited authority, with which he esteemed the restoration, and even life of the King, altogether incompatible. This opinion, so much warranted by the exorbitant ambition and profound dissimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; tho' 'tis more agreeable to the narrowness of human views, and the darkness of futurity, to suppose, that this daring usurper was guided by events, and did not, as yet, foresee, with any assurance, that unparalleled greatness, which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have asserted *, that he really intended to make a private bargain with the King;

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* Salmonet, Luſlow, Hollis, &c. all these, especially the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwel, are the more to be credited, when they advance any fact, which may serve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a story, that Cromwel intercepted a letter, wrote to the Queen, where the King said, that he would first raise and then destroy Cromwel. But, besides that this conduct seems to contradict the character of the King, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is first told by Roger Coke, a very passionate historian, who wrote so late as the revolution, and who mentions it only as a rumour. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, we meet with another story of an intercepted letter, which deserves some more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger Earl of Orrery. " Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwel, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his great distress at Clonmell, riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the King's death. Cromwel thereupon said more than once, that if the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him, but, upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orrery finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his Majesty, and why they did not. Cromwel very freely told him, he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason (says he) why we would have closed with the King was this: We found that the Scotch and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions: But whilst our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the King's

a measure, which carried the most plausible appearance both for his safety and advancement: But that he could find no difficulty in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. The horror and antipathy of these engagements had, for many years, been artfully fomented against Charles; and tho' their principles were, on all occasions, easily warped and eluded by private interest, yet was some colouring requisite, and a flat contradiction to all former assertions and tenets could not fairly be proposed to them. 'Tis certain, at least, that Cromwell made use of this reason, why he admitted rarely or visits from the King's friends, and showed less favour than formerly to the royal cause. The agitators, he said, had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Desperate projects too, he asserted to be secretly formed, for the murder of the King; and he pretended much to dread lest all his authority, and that of the commanding officers, would not be able to restrain these enthusiasts from their bloody purposes.

Introduction

Chap. X.
1647.

INTELLIGENCE being daily brought to the King of menaces thrown out by the agitators ; he began to think of retiring from Hampton-Court, and of putting himself in some place of safety. The guards were doubled upon him : The promiscuous concourse of people restrained : A more jealous care exerted in attending his person : All, under colour of protecting him from danger ; but really with a view of making him uneasy in his present situation. These artifices soon operated the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be swayed by council, and who had not then access to any good council, took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself, tho' without any concerted, at least, any rational scheme, for the future disposal of his person. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton Court ; and his escape was not discovered, till near an hour after ; when those, who entered his chamber, found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer, who had attended him. All night, he travelled thro' the forest, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton, where the Countess dowager resided, a woman of great honour, to whom, the King knew, he might safely entrust his person. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the sea-coast ; and expressed great anxiety, that a ship, which he seemed to look for, had not arrived ; and from thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the secret, conjectured, that his intention was to transport himself beyond sea.

11th of Nov.

King flies to
the isle of
Wight.

THE King could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield : What measure should be next embraced, was the question. In the neighbourhood lay the isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was intirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, who, during his life-time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel, and whose memory was ever religiously respected by him. These circumstances were very unfavourable : Yet, because the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the King's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him, in the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place, where the King lay concealed, till they had first obtained a promise of him not to deliver up his Majesty, tho' the parliament and army should require him ; but to restore him to his liberty, if he could not defend him. This promise, it is evident, would have been a very slender security : Yet even without exacting it, Ashburnham, imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Tichfield ; and the King was obliged to put himself into his hands, and

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to attend him to Carisbrooke-castle in the Isle of Wight, where, tho' received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

Chap. X.
1647.

LEWIS CHAMBERLAIN is positive, that the King, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had no intention of going to this island; and indeed, all the circumstances of this historian's narrative, which I have here followed, strongly favour this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles to the Earl of Essex, Secretary of Scotland; in which he plainly intimates, that that measure was voluntarily proposed, and even intimates, that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jersey or any other place of safety*. Perhaps, he felt constrained in the promises of the generals; and flattered himself, that, if he were removed from the ray of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had so often promised in his favour.

Whichever may be the truth in this matter; for it is impossible fully to ascertain the truth; Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwel and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from all parties, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And tho' it was always in the power of Cromwel, whenever he pleased, to have sent him thither; yet such a measure would have been very invidious, if not accompanied with some danger. That the King should voluntarily throw himself into the snare, and at once forfeit his own reputation of prudence, and gratify his implacable persecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the issue very fatal to him.

CROMWELL, being now intirely master of the parliament, and free from all anxiety, with regard to the King's person, applied himself faithfully to quell those disorders in the army which he himself had so artfully raised, and so successfully employed, against both King and parliament. In order to engage the troops

(1647)

* *See* the letter, which I have not thought proper to insert, but the sense of which is, that the King, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had no intention of going to this island; and indeed, all the circumstances of this historian's narrative, which I have here followed, strongly favour this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles to the Earl of Essex, Secretary of Scotland; in which he plainly intimates, that that measure was voluntarily proposed, and even intimates, that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jersey or any other place of safety. Perhaps, he felt constrained in the promises of the generals; and flattered himself, that, if he were removed from the ray of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had so often promised in his favour.

Chap. X.
1647.

into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged a very arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themselves were formed into a species of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics for the settlement of the state, were, every day, the topics of conversation among these armed legislators. Royalty it was agreed to abolish: Nobility must be set aside: Even all ranks of men be levelled; and an universal equality of property, as well as power, be introduced among the citizens. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth: An intire parity had place among the elect: And, by the same rule, that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest centinel, if enlightened by the spirit, was intitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from these licentious maxims, Cromwel had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay intire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now reduced fully to subjection, he proposed to make, for the future, the instruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for so that party in the army was called, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings: They asserted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation: Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions: Separate rendezvous were concerted: And every thing tended to total anarchy and confusion. But this dilemma was soon cured by the rough, but dexterous hand of Cromwel. He chose the occasion of a review, that he might display the greater boldness, and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions: Held in the field a council of war: Shot one mutineer instantly; and struck such dread into the rest, that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience.

Cromwel had great deference for the council of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded licence, in human society. Fierce in his nature, tho' probably sincere in his intentions; he proposed by arbitrary power to establish liberty, and, in prosecution of his imagined religious purposes, he thought himself dispensed from all the ordinary rules of morality, by which inferior mortals must allow themselves to be governed. From his suggestion, Cromwel secretly called at Windsor a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the King's person.

In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwel himself and other inspired persons (for the officers of this army received inspiration with their commission,) was first opened the daring and unagaid of council, of bringing the King to justice, and of punishing, by a judicial sentence, their sovereign for his pretended tyranny and maladministration. While Charles lived, even tho' restrained to the closest prison, complaints, they knew, and instructions would never be wanting, in favour of a prince, who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and compassion. To murder him privately was exposed to the imputation of injustice and cruelty, aggravated by the baseness of such a crime; and every odious epithet of *Tyrant* and *Murderer* would, by the general voice of mankind, be undisputably ascribed to the actors of such a villainy. Some unexpected procedure must be attempted, which would astonish the world by its novelty, would bear the semblance of justice, and cover its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enterprise. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the intire equality of mankind, it would ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and serve as a general engagement against the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would so heinously affront and injure.

Chap. X. with an authority to levy whatever money should be requisite for exercising it:
 1647. And even after the twenty years should be elapsed, they reserved a right of re-assuming the same authority, whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to require it. By the second he must recall all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms for their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by Lord-Keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he gave the two houses power to adjourn as they thought fit: A demand seemingly of no great consequence; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army.

1648. THE King regarded the pretension as most unusual and exorbitant, that he should make such concessions, while insecure of any settlement; and blindly trust his enemies for the conditions, which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a personal treaty with the parliament, and desired that all the terms, on both sides, should be adjusted, before any concessions, on either side, should be insisted on. The republican party in the house pretended to take fire at this answer; and openly inveighed, in the most virulent terms, against the person and government of the King; whose name, hitherto, had commonly, in all debates, been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of many thousand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the parliament, said, That the King, by denying the four bills, had refused safety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation, without consulting any longer so misguided a prince. Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godliness of the army, subjoined, That it was expected the parliament should govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those, who, at the expence of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition, in this vigorous measure. "Teach them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom (in which theirs too is involved) to imagine themselves betrayed, and their interests abandoned to
 " the

“the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy; whom, for your lives, they
 “have dared to provoke.” Beware, *God at this time, be true to him, or he*
 “*will* beware, lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means,
 “than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety.”
 Such arguments prevailed; tho’ ninety seven men of letters had the courage to oppose it. The
 people. It was voted, that no more addresses be made to the King, nor any let-
 ters or messages be received from him; and that it be treason for any one, with-
 out leave of the two houses, to have any intercourse with him. The Lords con-
 curred in the same ordinance.

By the vote of non-adress, for so it was called, the King was, in reality,
 deposed, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. So violent a mea-
 sure was supported by a declaration no less violent. The blackest calumnie was
 made known upon the King; such as, even in their famous remonstrance, the
 commons thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: The per-
 juring Rochester, the betraying Rochelle, the contriving the Irish rebellion. By
 stating the former, had that mercy been in their power, they formed a very pro-
 per ground to the murdering of his person.

No sooner had the King refused his assent to the four bills, than Hammond,
 who was then the chief, removed all his servants, cut off all correspondence
 with the world, and shut him up in close confinement. The King after was
 brought to Spalding Warwick, an old decrepid man, who, he said, was employed
 to attend him, and was the best company he enjoyed, during several months
 of this rigorous confinement lasted. No amusement was allowed him, or con-
 solation, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: To be speedily poisoned or as-
 sulted was the only prospect, which he had, every moment, before his eyes:
 For he entertained no apprehension of a judicial sentence and execution, an
 event, of which no history hath yet furnish’d an example. Meanwhile the par-
 liament were very industrious in publishing, from time to time, the intellig-
 ences, which they received from Hammond; how cheerful the King was, how
 pleased with every one who approach’d him, how satisfied in his present con-
 dition. As if the view of such beggary and confusion had not been more
 proper to inform, than allay, the general sentiment of the people. The great
 council, whence the King received consultation and advice, his children, was im-
 mensely religious; a pious crew, who, in their hearts, thought that to have
 any commerce with a man, who was in such a manner, was an admission, or
 a kind of him with the dismal prospect of tortures. Above every thing around
 him, there a horrible aspect of wretchedness, famine, rebellion, upon his passionate
 loved, were placed at a distance, and visible to every eye, who approach’d him.

Chap. X.
1648.

self with confidence in the arms of that Being, who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose severities, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledge of unexhausted favour.

Second civil
war.

THE parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not, in tranquillity, that power, which they had obtained with so much violence and injustice. Combinations and conspiracies, they were sensible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the King's cause had received the first fatal blow, seemed now to promise it support and assistance.

BEFORE the delivery of the King's person at Newcastle, and much more, since that event, the subjects of discontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occasions of mortifying the Scotch, whom the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scotch commissioners, who, joined to a committee of English lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was proposed in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents prevailed, that the words, *Good offices*, should be struck out; and thus the whole brotherly friendship and intimate alliance with the Scotch resolved itself into an acknowledgement of their being well-bred gentlemen.

THE advance of the army to London, the subjection of the parliament, the seizing of the King at Holmby, his confinement in Carisbroke castle, were so many blows, sensibly felt by the Scotch; as threatening the final overthrow of presbytery, to which they were so passionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the house of commons, an almanack out of date; and that impiety, tho' complained of, had passed uncensured. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost horror. All the violences, put on the King, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person. And those very actions, of which they themselves had been guilty, they denominated treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

THE Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, who were sent to London, protested against the four propositions; as containing too great a diminution of the King's civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained, that, notwithstanding this protestation, the propositions were still insisted on; contrary to the solemn league and the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, they

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secretly formed a treaty with the King, for arming Scotland in his favour. Chap. X.
17, 8.

Three parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland. The *Royalists*, who insisted upon the restoration of the King's authority, without any regard to religious facts or tenets. Of these Montrose, tho' absent, was regarded as the head. The *Right presbyterians*, who hated the King, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who were resolved to give him no assistance, till he should sign the covenant: These were governed by Argyll. The *Moderate presbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by supporting the presbyterian party in England, to suppress the sectarian army, and re-instate the parliament, as well as King, in their just freedom and authority: The two brothers, Hamilton and Lanerick, were leaders of this party.

When Pendennis castle was surrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generously determined to remember ancient favours, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and success, the protection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the parliament to arm 2000 men, in support of the King's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Munro, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ulster. And tho' he openly professed, that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly formed an alliance with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Mordaunt, who surprized Berwick and Carlisle, and levied considerable forces in the north of England.

The general assembly, who sat at the same time, and were guided by Argyll, treaded the conference of their meetings, and resolved, that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery in England. To bring the King before he had subscribed the covenant, was, in their eyes, to restore him to dishonour before Christ was restored to his; and they thundered out anathemas against every one, who paid obedience to the parliament. Two separate independent pulpitories were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the sinner with damnation and eternal torments, the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were divided in their opinions, and the armament of Hamilton's party, tho' seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly. The royalists he would not, as yet, allow to join him, till he could give assent to the ecclesiastical party; tho' he secretly promised them, that, as soon as his army should advance into England.

Chap. V.
1648.

WHILE the Scotch were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. 'Tis seldom, that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; because the new settlement, jealous and insecure, must commonly be supported with more expence and severity than the old: But on no occasion was the truth of this maxim more sensibly felt, than in the present situation of England. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the star-chamber, had roused the people to arms: And having gained a compleat victory over the crown, they found themselves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown; and scarce an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. The presbyterians, who had chiefly supported the war, were enraged to find the prize, just when it seemed within their reach, snatched by violence from them. The royalists, disappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment, which the King received from the army, were strongly animated to restore him to liberty, and recover the advantages, which they had unfortunately lost. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and king and parliament at once reduced to subjection by a mercenary army. Many persons of family and distinction, from the beginning of the war, had adhered to the parliament: But all those were, by the new party, deprived of authority; and every office was entrusted to the most ignoble part of the nation. A base populace exalted above their superiors: Hypocrites exercising iniquity under the vizard of religion: These two circumstances promise not much liberty or lenity to the people; and these were now found united, in the same usurped and illegal administration.

THO' the whole nation seemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends, which the several parties proposed, were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, presbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the first who declared themselves, and drew together a considerable army in those parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cause. An insurrection was raised in Kent by young Hales and the Earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, excited commotions in Essex. The Earl of Holland, who had several times changed party, since the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to collect forces in Surrey. Pomfret castle in Yorkshire was surprized by Morrice. Langdale and Mulgrave were in arms, and matters of Berwick and Carlisle in the north.

Winter seemed the most dangerous circumstance, the general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the King; and putting Rainbrow, their admiral, ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them.

Chap. X.
1648.

to summon several of his friends and old counsellors, that he might have their advice in this important transaction. The theologians on both sides, armed with their syllogisms and citations, attended as auxiliaries. By them, the flame had first been raised; and their appearance was but a bad prognostic of its extinction. Any other instruments seemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

18th of Sept.
Treaty of
Newport.

WHEN the King presented himself to this company, a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect from what it appeared the year before, when he resided at Hampton Court. The moment his servants had been removed, he had laid aside all care of his person, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost intirely gray; either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows, under which he laboured, and which, tho' borne with constancy, preyed inwardly on his sensible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compassion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *Grey and discrowned head*; as he himself terms it, in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adversaries, it now behoved him, by reason and persuasion, to save some fragments of it, from these peaceful, and no less implacable negotiators.

THE vigour of the King's mind, notwithstanding the seeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his council to be present, and refused to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to sustain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was the scene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a chaste elocution, a dignified manner; by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. *The King is much changed*, said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: *He is extremely improved of late*. No, replied Sir Philip; *he was always so: But you are now at last sensible of it*. Sir Henry Vane, to his fellow-commissioners, drew an argument from the King's uncommon abilities, why the terms of pacification must be rendered more strict and rigid*. But Charles's capacity shone not equally in action as in reasoning.

THE first point insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners, was the King's recalling all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and the acknowledging,

* Clarendon, Sir Edward Walker.

knowing, that they had taken arms in defence of the law. He boldly offered the former concession; but was rejected by them. The House, as well as indignity of that acknowledgment, as also by the high and recent violence against it. The King had, notwithstanding, a single parliament, elected from a fawning assembly, the privy-seal of his paper. He being, however, a claim to these usurped powers, having, consulted his council, and having applied every branch in the constitution, and even created new corporations, to enforce it; he could no longer, at the termination of the war, be represented as the aggressor. However it might be pretended, that the former display of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his unconstitutional principles, had led an offensive or preventive war in the parliament; prudent and reasonable; it could never, in any propriety of speech, make it be termed a *defensive* one. But the parliament, sensible, that the letter of the law authorized them to resist and punish, deemed this point already necessary for their future security: And the King finding, that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at last yielded to it. He only entered a protest, which was admitted; that no concession, made by him, should be valid, until the whole treaty of pacification was concluded.

He agreed, that the parliament should retain, during the term of twenty years, the whole power of the militia and army, and of levying what money they pleased for their support. He even yielded to them the right of refusing at any time art-wards, this authority, whenever they should declare such a reticement requisite for public safety. In effect, the important power of the sword was forever ravished from him and his successors.

He agreed, that all the great officers, during twenty years, should be elected by both houses of parliament. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there. He reserved the power of the sword, and accepted of it for six pound a year in lieu of it. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own. He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament. And he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the King did, not without reason, think he had been more conformable to his people by this concession, could he have prevented them from by any one article of his life.

Even in the demands of the parliament, Charles could not stand. He relinquished almost every power of the crown, to which he had formerly reserved a right to parliament, nor did it what he conceived his subjects were. The 12th of Nov. 1688.

Chap. X. severe repentance, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had, no
1648. doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed extremely to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him.

THE estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost intirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented, that they should pay such compositions, as they and the parliament could agree on; and only begged, that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of his friends should be rendered incapable of public employments. But when the parliament demanded a bill of attainder and banishment against seven persons, the Marquess of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, the King utterly refused compliance: Their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to.

RELIGION was the fatal point about which the differences had first arisen; and of all others, was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The parliament insisted on the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against the catholics. The King offered to retrench every thing, which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: He was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, canons: He offered, that the chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years: He consented, that the present church-government should continue during three years: After that time, he required not, that any thing should be restored to bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the presbyters. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, was not willing, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were abolished, and a new form of church government must, by common consent, be established. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel: A demand, which, tho' seemingly very reasonable, was positively refused by the parliament.

IN the dispute on these articles, one is not surpris'd, that two of the parliamentary theologians should tell the King, *That if he did not consent to the utter abolishing episcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. "The houses, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do declare, " that

“ that they cannot admit of or consent unto any such indulgence in any law, as
 “ is desired by his Majesty for exempting the Queen and her family from the
 “ penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the mass.” The treaty of marriage, the regard to the Queen’s sex and high station, even common humanity ; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigoted prejudices *.

It was evidently the interest, both of King and parliament, to finish their treaty with all expedition ; and endeavour, by their combined forces, to resist, if possible, the usurping fury of the army. It seemed even the interest of the parliament, to leave, in the king’s hand, a considerable share of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himself, from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms, on which they insisted, were so rigorous, that the King,

L I I 2

fearing

* The King composed a letter to the Prince, in which he related the whole course of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative, with several wise, as well as pathetic reflections and advice. The words with which he concluded the letter, are remarkable. “ By what hath been said, “ you see how long I have laboured in the search of peace : Do not you be disheartened to tread in “ the same steps. Use all worthy means to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of “ peace : Show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by “ punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill-wishers, “ you would avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted with so much of our right : The “ prize was great ; but the commodity was, security to us, peace to my people. And I am con- “ sident, that another parliament would remember, how useful a king’s power is to a people’s li- “ berty ; of how much power I divested myself, that I and they might meet once again in a par- “ liamentary way, in order to agree the bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my expe- “ rience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than what is really and intrinsically for the “ good of the subject, not the satisfaction of favourite. If you thus use it you will never want “ means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily “ gracious to. You may perceive, that all men entrust their treasure, where it returns them interest, “ and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams, which the rivers entrail with “ him, they will not grudge, but pile themselves, to make him up an ocean. These considera- “ tions may make you as great a prince as your father is : a low one ; and your state may be so “ much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned, I dare say, “ that victories over their princes, are but triumphs over themselves, and so, will more unwillingly “ challenge hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however, at present, in- “ stigated. I know not but this may be the last time, I may speak to you on the world publicly. “ I am sensible into what hand I am fallen ; and yet, I thank God, I have those inward refresh- “ ments, which the malice of my enemies cannot perturb. I have learned to buy myself, by re- “ sisting mine enemies, and therefore can the better digest whatever I shall meet : doubting, but “ God’s providence will restrain our enemies’ power, and turn their mercenies into our profits. To “ conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly, and be ever his firm revenge. If he require “ you to go on with on hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men, who have “ at stake, what they were bound to preserve, will not show triumph and exultation. But do “ let you take any thing in the world for an aim, by this time, you will have it.”

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fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to a conclusion. And so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary projects.

Cromwel and
Hamilton re-
-solved.

HAMILTON, having entered England with a numerous tho' undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale; because the English royalists had refused to take the covenant; and the Scotch presbyterians, tho' engaged for the King, refused to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, tho' at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwel, oblige the covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royalists. When principles are so absurd and so destructive of human society, it may safely be affirmed, that, the more sincere and the more disinterested they are, they only become the more ridiculous and odious.

CROMWEL feared not to oppose 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by surprise, near Preston in Lancashire; * and, tho' the royalists made a stout resistance, yet, not being succoured in time by their confederates, they were almost entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Utoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed Lanerie, Monro, and other moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all those who had any share in Hamilton's engagement; nor could any of that party recover trust, or even live in safety, but by doing solemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful sovereign.

The chancellor, Loudon, who had, at first, countenanced Hamilton's enterprise, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, sometime before, gone over to the other party; and he now, openly in the church, tho' invested with the highest civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he termed a carnal self-seeking. He accompanied his penance with many tears, and such pathetic addresses to the people for their prayers,

* 11th of August.

prayers, in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that an universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded nation.

The loss of great sums of money, owing to the ruin of Fairfax, was expected to have thus lay under any suspicion of favouring the Royal party, and their conduct had been ever so justified. This was a device, laid up by the parliament, in order, as they said, to ruin *John Fairfax*. Never in this English was known a more severe and arbitrary government, than was generally exercised by the patrons of Liberty in both kingdoms.

The siege of Colchester terminated in a manner no less unfortunate than Harrold's engagement, for the royal cause. After suffering the utmost extremity of starving, after feeding on the vilest aliment; the garrison declined at last, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to surrender at once; and he gave such an explanation of these terms, as to reserve to himself power, if he pleased, to put them all instantly to the sword. The officers endeavoured, they in vain, to put this to the test, by making a furious assault, to break thro', or at least, to fix their lives as dear as possible. They were obliged to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, irritated by them, to whom Cromwell, in his nation, had confided over the government of the passive general, killed Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lade, and resolved to make the whole obedience to military justice. This unusual piece of severity was loudly complained against by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, baronet, of daring reputation, and great ability, in'd challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same cause, to come out the same in partial vengeance on all of them. This was refused, and he gave, himself, orders to fire, with the same severity, on his own recommended a platoon of his own officers. He instantly ran and killed the whole platoon, and then charitably ordered himself to a fire house. From thence he sent, by a messenger, a letter to the parliament, that he had been a witness to the execution of his friends; *Lucas, Lade, and many more, who were killed by Fairfax's order.* He concluded this speech in spirit, with a bold and manly declaration, that he was ready for his courage and military conduct.

After this, the parliament, depending on the high resolution, that they had taken, to show favour to the Royal party, ordered, that the prisoners should be sent to the Tower, and that the soldiers, who were taken in the Colchester siege, should be sent to the Fleet Prison: He that has seen Charles

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By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies : and none remained but the helpless King and parliament, to oppose their violent measures. From Cromwel's suggestion, a remonstrance was drawn by the general council of officers, and sent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the King ; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war ; require a dissolution of the present parliament, and a more equal representative for the future ; and assert, that, tho' servants, they are intitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the same time, they advance with the army to Windsor, and send Colonel Eure to seize the King's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst castle in the neighbourhood, where he was reduced to very strict confinement.

The King seized again by the army.

THIS measure being foreseen some time before, the King was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy : But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks afterwards ; he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating his promise. In vain was it urged, that a promise, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding ; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tie or engagement. The King would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects ; and was resolved, that whatever depredations fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honour.

THE parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger, with which they were so nearly menaced. Tho' without any plan for resisting military usurpations, they generously resolved to withstand them to the utmost ; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and sanguinary measures, which were projected. They set aside the remonstrance of the army, without deigning to answer it ; they voted the seizing the King's person, to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize had been executed ; and they issued orders, that the army should advance no nearer London.

HOLLIS, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of the most unconquerable intrepidity ; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them, that the generals and principal officers, should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament.

BUT

But the parliament were dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous decency. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he still allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meads, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments.

The parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to resist. They attempted, in the face of the army, to close their treaty with the King; and, tho' they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 82, in the house of commons, that the King's concessions were a foundation for the house to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

Next day, when the commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had blockaded the house, at the head of two regiments; and, directed by the Lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage, forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the denomination of *Hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to several prisons. Above 100 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and most determined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliament, commonly passed under the name of *Colonel Pride's purge*; so much disposed were the nation to make merry with the dethroning of those members, who had violently assumed the whole authority of government, and deprived the King of his legal prerogatives.

These subsequent acts of the parliament, in this diminutive assembly deserve that honourable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the King's concessions unsatisfactory. They determined, that no member, who sent at the said vote, should be received, till they subscribed it, as agreeable to their consciences. They reversed their former vote of non-adherence. And they continued to persecute, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals, Major Brookes, and Corley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. These Men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, supported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the progress of the present leaders, who, at that time, were of very small account to the nation.

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THE secluded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been transacted in the house of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

THESE sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention between those mighty powers, which disputed for the sovereignty of the state. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond seas: Foreigners scrupled to give any credit to a people, so torn by domestic factions, and oppressed by military usurpation: Even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to stagnate: And in order to remedy these growing evils, the generals, in the army's name, published a declaration, in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice.

THE more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into consideration, a scheme called *The agreement of the people*; being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this scheme, for correcting the inequalities of the representative, are very plausible; had the nation been willing to receive it, or had the army intended to impose it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and favour strongly of that enthusiastic spirit, so prevalent thro'out the kingdom.

THE height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the furious independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army should, themselves, execute that daring enterprise; and they deemed so irregular and lawless a deed, best fitted to such irregular and lawless instruments. But the generals were too wise, to load themselves singly with the infamy, which, they knew, must attend an action, so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure, which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition. In the house of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the King. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try his Majesty for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers.

THE

THE House of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the King's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened, that day, to be fuller than usual, and they were assembled to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

THE commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *That the people are the origin of all just power*; they likewise declared, that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, so they called him, was again read and unanimously assented to.

IN proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity, among those regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwel in the house, "to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your councils; tho' I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his Majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this supernatural movement as the answer, which Heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications."

A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the council of war, and communicated to them a revelation, which assured them, that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

COLONEL Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast of the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the King to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the King's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, *My dear master!*

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ster! I have indeed been so to you, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed between them. The King was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that, in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

CHARLES himself was assured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private assassination he every moment looked for; and tho' Harrison assured him, that his apprehensions were intirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as reality, the King was now dethroned. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first, he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed. *Nothing so contemptible as a despoised prince!* was the reflection, which they suggested to him. But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

ALL the circumstances of the trial were now adjusted; and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the commons; but there never met above 70: So difficult was it found, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice, and the allurements of interest, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal measure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, were members, together with some of the lower house and some citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number: But having affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the King for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

It is observable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here*. When the charge was read against the King, *In the name of the people of England*; the same voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them*. Axtel the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered,

discovered, that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them. She was a person of very noble extraction, the daughter of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long seconded her husband's zeal against the royal cause; and was now as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequences of all his boasted victories.

Thus pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction corresponded to the greatest conception, that it might be in the view of a British King, the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their representative, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The House, in name of the commons, represented, that Charles Stuart, being a native Prince of England, and *invested* with a limited power; yet nevertheless, out of wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the King, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The King, tho' long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented, That, having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and here this time, to have been restored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his personal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdued by lawless forces, and were bereaved of their liberty: That he himself was their NAVE, and not a RAVEN KING; nor was the whole authority of the state, tho' free and united, intired to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven: That, admitting those extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people, unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: That he acknowledged, without scruple, that he had a *test*, committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation.

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That having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life, in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, tho' in vain, he had so long contended: That those, who arrogated a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws, which determined, *That the king can do no wrong*: That he was not reduced to the necessity of sheltering himself under that general maxim, which guards every English monarch, even the least deserving; but was able, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify those measures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse: But that, in order to preserve an uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, forego the apology of his innocence; lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution.

THE president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated, That he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles, which, in his present situation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour, in general, will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the King had appeared in arms against the forces, commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son: But the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

It is confessed, that the King's behaviour, during this last period of his life, does great honour to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained,

maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity and justness both of thought and expression: Mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority, which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, tho' with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: *Poor souls!* said the King to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much against their commanders.* Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conveyed along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety, was the only effect which this inhuman insult was able to operate upon him.

The people, tho' under the rod of lawless, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, to pour forth their wishes for his preservation; and, in his present distress, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected. The King was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier too, seized by contagious sympathy, demanded from heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: His officer, overhearing his prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's presence. *The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence:* This was the reflection, which Charles formed on that occasion.

As soon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign nations, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of unadvised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed on the King's behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scotch exclaimed and protested against this violence: The Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, persons of the greatest virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Landsey, applied to the commons. They represented, That they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the

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THE people remained in that silence and astonishment, which all great passions, when not furnished with an opportunity of exerting themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers, being incessantly plied with prayers, sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that, in the acts of the most extreme disloyalty towards their prince, consisted their highest merit in the eyes of Heaven.

THREE days were allowed the King between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester; for the Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant: The Princess, notwithstanding her tender years, shewed a very advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious consolations and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen, That, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration.

To the young Duke too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words, the child looked very stedfastly upon him. "Mark! child, what I say: They will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king: But mark what I say: Thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them!" The Duke, sighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first!" So determined an answer, from one of such tender years, filled the King's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

EVERY night, during this interval, the King slept sound as usual; tho' the noise of workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears*. The morning of the fatal day, he rose early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ

more

* Walker's history of independency.

more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues, by which the King himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last melancholy duties to his friend and sovereign.

There stood before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution: For it was intended, by choosing that very place, in sight of his own palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. When the King came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He addressed, therefore, his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had operated an intire conversion. He insisted his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed, that he had not taken arms, till after the parliament had insisted force: nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preserve that authority intire, which by his predecessors was transmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think, that ill instruments had interposed, and excited in them fears and jealousies with regard to his intentions. Thus innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of all Mankind; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave and absconded, even the chief instruments of his death: but exhorted them, and the whole nation to return to the way of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one Ragonier which, tho' turbulent and troublesome, yet is a very short one. Consider it well, and it will carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and then you shall find, to your great joy, the prize, to which you hasten, a crown that will never decay." "I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. Another, in a black robe, held up, to the spectators, the head, streaming with blood, and said aloud, *Behold the head of a traitor!*

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which followed, not only among the spectators, who were crowded with a thousand people, but thro'out the whole nation, to which as the report of this tragical event was conveyed to them. Never in our history, in the full triumph of a tyrant, was his death more dear to his people than his murder to the nation.

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his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy Prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection ; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds, the effects of these complicated passions were prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb : Others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave : Nay some, unmindful of themselves, as tho' they could not, or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears ; those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parricides, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity, had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the King's death. The generous Fairfax, not contented with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence ; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, tho' none else should follow him, to rescue the King from his disloyal murderers. Cromwel and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the King ; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from Heaven on this important occasion : But they concealed from him, that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications.

It being remarked, that the King, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word, REMEMBER ; great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression, and the generals vehemently insisted with the prelate, that he should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them, that the King, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to re-iterate that desire : and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

THE character of this Prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly speaking, his imperfections: For scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To consider him in the most favourable light, it may be affirmed, that his dignity was excused from pride, his humanity from weakness, his bravery from rashness, his confidence from audacity, his frugality from avarice: All these virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreserved praise. To speak the most harshly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, tho' seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence: His benevolent disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tainted with superstition; his good sense was disfigured by a deference to persons of a capacity much inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from hasty and precipitant resolutions. He deserves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first measure: He was not endowed with the vigour requisite for the second. Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard, as sacred, the boundaries of the constitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; for, even after this event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed, without revenue, without arms, to the assault of furious, implacable and bigoted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condonation too rigorous to be proposed on the greatest human capacity.

Some historians have rashly questioned the good faith of this Prince: But, for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumstance, is now thorowly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties, to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare them with the firmness of his professions and declarations;

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we shall avow, that probity and honour ought justly to be placed among his most shining qualities. In every treaty, those concessions, which, he thought, in conscience, he could not maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to grant. And tho' some violations of the petition of right may be imputed to him; these are more to be ascribed to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles*.

THIS

* The imputation of insincerity on Charles I. like many party-clamours, is very difficult to remove; and it may not here be improper to say somewhat with regard to it. I shall first remark, that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, tho' they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation. Ludlow, I think, is almost the only Parliamentarian, who imputes that vice to him; and how passionate a writer he is, must be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon nor any other of the royalists ever justify him from insincerity; as not supposing that he had ever been accused of it. In the second place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice: He was reserved, distant, stately; cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles; wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son; or the professing, talkative humour of his father. The imputation of insincerity must be grounded on some of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only instances, which I find cited to confirm that accusation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the transactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himself was deceived: why otherwise did he quarrel with Spain? The following is a passage of a letter from lord Kensington, ambassador in France, to the duke of Buckingham, Cabbala, p. 318. "But his highness (the Prince) had observed as great a weakness and folly as that, in that after they (the Spaniards) had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he came into the ship: But did he say so? said the Queen (of France.)" "Yes, madam, I will assure you, quoth I, from the witness of mine own ears. She smiled and replied, indeed I heard he was used ill. So he was, answered I, but not in his entertainment; for that was as splendid as that country could afford it; but in their frivolous delays and in the unreasonable conditions which they propounded and pressed, upon the advantage they had of his princely person." (2.) Bishop Burnet, in his History of the House of Hamilton, p. 154. has preserved a letter of the King's to the Scotch bishops, in which he desires them not to be present at the Parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order: "For," adds the King, "we do hereby assure you, that it shall be still one of our chiefest studies now to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair your losses, which we desired you to be most confident of." And in another place, "You may rest secure, that tho' perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government; yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both." But does the King say, that he will arbitrarily revoke his concessions? Does not candor require us rather to suppose, that the King's authority would so far recover as to enable him to obtain the national consent to such dissipation, which he believed so material a part of religion as well as government? It is not easy indeed to think how he could expect to effectuate this purpose in any other way than his father had taken, that is, by consent of Parliament. (3.) There is a passage in Lord Clarendon; where it is said, that the King assented the more easily to the bill, which excluded the bishops from the House of Peers; be-

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THE tragical death of Charles begot a question, whether the people, in any case, were intitled to judge and to punish their sovereign; and most men, regarding chiefly the atrocious usurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous prince who suffered, were inclined strongly to condemn the republican principles, as highly seditious and extravagant: But there still were a few, who, abstracting from the particular circumstances of this case, were able to consider the question in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing sentiment. Such might have been their reasoning. If ever, on any occasion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it must be confessed, that the doctrine of resistance affords such an example; and that all speculative reasoners ought to observe, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence, which the laws, in every species of government, have ever prescribed to themselves. Government is instituted, in order to restrain the fury and injustice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous, by these speculations, to weaken the reverence, which the multitude owe to authority, and to instruct them beforehand, that the case can ever happen, when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the licence of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are very rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into a state of abject servitude. When the exception really occurs, even tho' it be not previously expected and descanted on, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint, however great, imposed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But between resisting a prince and dethroning him, there is a very wide interval; and the abuses of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are much greater and more enormous, than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the opposition, tho', for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. But between dethroning a prince and punishing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not strange, if even men of the most enlarged thought should question, whether human nature could ever, in any monarch, reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in rebelled subjects, this last act of extraordinary jurisdiction. That illusion, if it be an illusion, which teaches us to pay a sacred regard to the persons of princes, is salutary; that to dissipate it by the formal trial and punishment of a sovereign,

will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of justice can be supposed to have a beneficial influence upon posterity, by checking their colour of crime. This dangerous ally, by these examples, to reduce princes to debility, or bring matters to such extremities against persons endowed with great power, as to leave them no resource, but in the most violent and most sanguinary efforts. This general position being established, it will, however, be observed, that no reader, almost of any party or principle, was ever shocked, when he read, in ancient history, that the Roman senate voted Nero their absolute sovereign to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the severest and most ignominious punishment: such a punishment was not ancient Roman law, but was by the laws, exempted from it. The crimes of that bloody tyrant, so notorious, that they break thro' all rules; and extort a confession, that such a punishment is no longer proper to his people, and can no longer plead, as an extraordinary law, which were established for conducting the ordinary course of administration. But when we pass from the case of Nero to that of Charles, the great disproportion, or rather total contrariety of characters, immediately strikes us; and we stand astonished, that, among a civilized people, so much virtue could ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe. History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudent, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events, which her enlarged mind is able to present to us. From the memorable revolutions, which passed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the same salutary lesson, which Charles Martel, in his later years, inferred; that it was necessary for princes to add no more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it will be observed, that these events furnish us with another instruction, no less rational and salutary, concerning the conduct of the people, the danger of faction, and the danger of intermeddling.

In order to close this part of Pius's history, it is necessary to relate the dissolution of the monarchy of Aquitaine. Charlemagne being informed, upon the complaint of the emperor, Alphonse, that the counts of Aquitaine, who were his vassals, were endeavouring to get themselves declared independent of him, and that some of them were going to enter the service of some foreign prince, he sent his army against them. In order to prevent blood being spilt, he sent his army against them, and they were soon afterwards reconciled, and a peace was concluded. A like case happened in the reign of Louis the Great, who was informed, that some of his vassals were endeavouring to get themselves declared independent of him, and that some of them were going to enter the service of some foreign prince, he sent his army against them, and they were soon afterwards reconciled, and a peace was concluded.

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was as proper as any gentleman in England *. The commons formed a new great seal, on which that assembly was represented with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treason to proclaim or any otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales.

THE commons intended to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker : The Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical-employment. But the former soon died ; of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end : The latter was, by Cromwel, sent beyond sea.

THE King's statue, in the Exchange, was thrown down ; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed : ENIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS ; *The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of justice, as Earl of Cambridge in England ; and condemned for high treason. This sentence, which was certainly very hard, but which ought to save his memory from all imputations of treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster-hall. Lord Capel underwent the same fate. Both these Noblemen had escaped from prison, but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders still replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they should suffer ; since it had permitted them to fall into their enemies hands, after they had once recovered their liberty.

THE Earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence. Tho' of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the King, and his frequent changing sides, were regarded as great stains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the same court, were pardoned by the commons.

THE King left six children ; three males, Charles born in 1630, James Duke of York, born in 1633, Henry Duke of Gloucester, born in 1641 ; and three females, Mary Princess of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1637, and Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

THE Archbishops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud : The Lord keepers, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord

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* Waller's History of Independency, part 2.

Chap. 2. and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent
1649. restoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to those which were
wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of
Caesar. The *Icon* passed thro' fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent
of the great interest taken in it by the nation, as the supposed production of their
murdered sovereign, it must be acknowledged the best prose composition, which,
at the time of its publication, was to be found in the English language.

The End of the First Volume.



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